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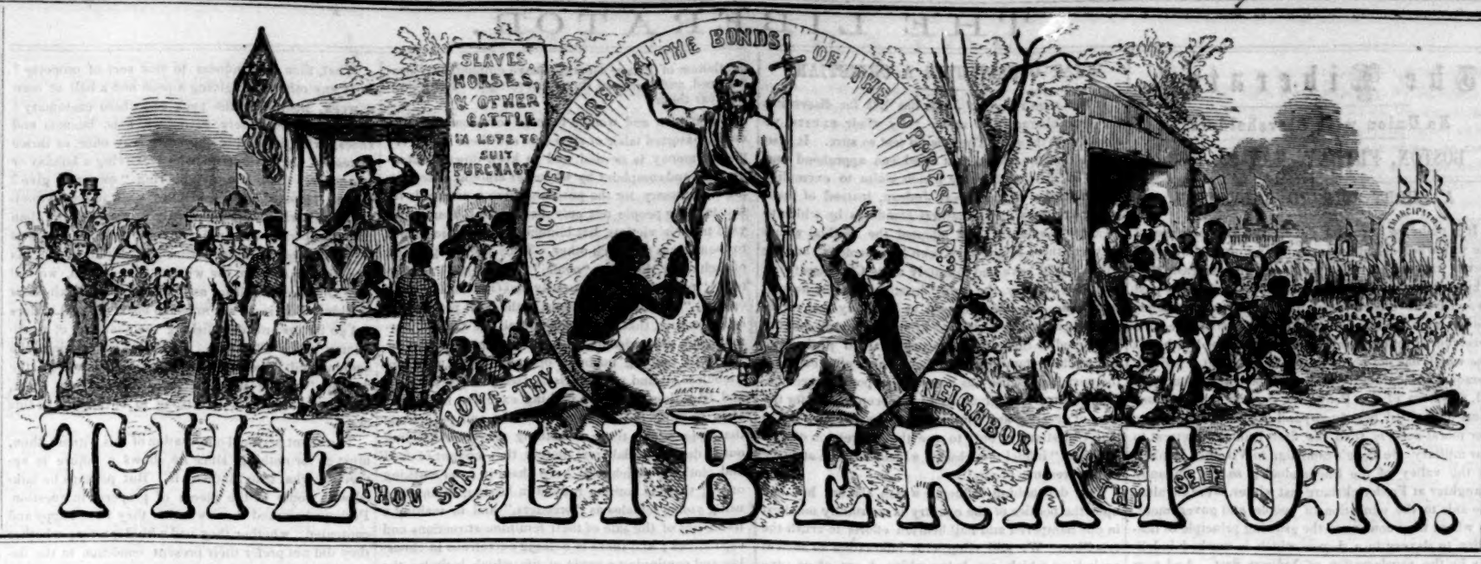
SLAVES, HORSES, & OTHER CATTLE IN LOTS TO SUIT PURCHASERS
I COME TO BREAK THE BONDS OF THE OPPRESSED
LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THYSELF
THOU SHALT
THE LIBERATOR.

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES. . . . From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, CIVIL, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of CONGRESS extend to interference with the institution of slavery, IN EVERY WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERFERED WITH, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of States, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and MUST CARRY IT ON, ACCORDING TO THE LAWS OF WAR; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."—J. Q. ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXXIII. NO. 22. BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 29, 1863. WHOLE NO. 1686.

Refuge of Oppression.

ENTHUSIASTIC MEETING OF COLORED CITIZENS.

An enthusiastic meeting of our colored citizens was held, a few evenings since, in the cellar of G. Washington Jefferson, North street. They were called together by the summons of an influential committee for the purpose of considering the proposition of raising a colored regiment in Massachusetts.

Cæsar Augustus Crow, Esq., was invited to the chair, one Julius Epaminondas Toney was requested to act as Secretary. Upon taking the chair, Mr. Crow opened the meeting with the following remarks:—

"Fellah Citizens and cullered Bredren:—We is 'sembled in dese yere spacious halls on a most momenterous 'casion! 'Bellion has played hob wid dis yere country, so dat white folks is all skeered, and now dey calls on us to save de nation. Bredren, is we ekal to do it? (Voice—'We am!' and vociferous cheers.) Yes, fellah citizens, is twenty-five tousand niggers more'n tree hund'd tousan' white men? dat's de question! (Voice—'Dey is!' and renewed stamps on the cellar floor.) Dem bein yer sentiments, Mr. Toney'll please read the revolutions what's drawn up."

Mr. Crow sat down upon a barrel, amidst a storm of cheers peculiarly African.

The Secretary then read the following resolutions:—

1. Whereashow, looking back trou de vista of dis war we don't see nothin encouragin, and lookin trou de retrospec ahed, tings looks wuss'n ever; resolved, something's got to be done!

2. Resolved, White folks hain't done nothin.

3. Resolved, It takes cullered folks to do somethin.

4. Resolved, How's it gwine to be done?

5. Resolved, Dat's de question.

The resolutions having been read, there was a great rush for the floor, and gentlemen treading upon the elongated heels of each other, there was no little confusion and outcry. Order being at length restored, Pompey Cole, Esq. was recognized by the —barrel.

Mr. Cole remarked:—"Mr. Cheerman, I don't know 'bout dis yere ting. Fust place, afore we licks de Souf, I wants to know what we's got to do 'bout it? I read a story in de *Courier*, todder day, 'bout some white fellah asking a cullered gemman if he didn't mean to 'list. Says de cullered gemman, says he, 'Look you here, white man, did yah ever see two dogs a fightin' over a bone?' Wall, white man 'lowed he had. 'Berry well,' says de cullered gemman, 'did de bone fight?'

Now, den, Miss'r Cheerman, on de barrel yonder, dey tell us dis's way for liberty—for to set dum niggers out Souf free. Well, who axed 'em to do it? Nigger out Souf didn't. He'e better off afore dan he is now, kickin' 'bout atween two armies, and a kutchen' it all round. Cullered gemmen heah at de Norf didn't ax 'em. 'Pose we wants dem dirty niggers cirklatin' round here a takin business out of our hands? Is we gwine to shave for six cents, and black boots for two cents, like dey can? No, sah, no! My scentiments is, dat if white folks had waited till cullered people and niggers had axed 'em to fight 'bout 'em, dere wouldn't been fightin, no way! Gavner Andrew can't cum it over dis chile. If he wants a dinner, I'll give him one; Mr. Hayden did; 'cause I ain't proud; but he ain't gwine to get my shoulder behind a musket if he kiss it all day long. No, sah! an' what's more, white soldgers don't want us no more'n we want to go. Dis yere country'll be safer to let de white folks fight it out, an' let de cullered gemmen stay at home, an' mind dere own business!"

The speech of Mr. Cole had such a convincing effect upon the assembly, that the efforts of President Crow, who was the only darkey in the crowd who had received a five dollar bill from the Government, were totally ineffectual for the preservation of order. The barrel upon which he had mounted was kicked from under him, but as he fortunately alighted upon his head, he sustained no personal injury, so that he was not prevented from fulfilling an engagement to take tea with his Excellency, on the following evening. His report of the proceedings of the meetings will probably be published at the expense of the State, unless it may be deemed inexpedient, as not comporting with the public welfare.—*Boston Courier.*

THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The American Anti-Slavery Society has held its thirtieth anniversary in Dr. Cheever's church. It was summoned by W. L. Garrison, Wendell Phillips and Charles C. Burleigh, and the burden of the theme, according to the programme issued by these revolutionary radical leaders, was that "a decree of immediate and universal emancipation is demanded by the imperilled state of the country." We had supposed that the first "decree" would have done the business. The radicals and abolitionists one and all said it would. But now it appears that the first decree amounts to nothing, and we must have another one. But would it not be better to give the first medicine a little time to operate, before administering another dose of the same stuff? Perhaps, too, before issuing a second proclamation, it would be desirable to ascertain whether the negroes want the physic. That the race are utterly indifferent to the tremendous efforts being made in their behalf is evident enough. Gov. Andrew, Beecher, Cheever, and Greeley have completely failed in their efforts to raise a black brigade to fight for "universal emancipation"; and now it devolves upon Downing, the oyster man, whose bivalves are of such excellent quality, to take the matter in hand. Perhaps he may succeed. Perhaps not. We shall see. But certain it is, that he cannot do worse than the blueskins who are the shining lights of revolutionary radicalism. If Downing succeeds, then it will be time enough for the President to consider the propriety of sending forth another proclamation of freedom. Besides, it is incumbent on Andrew and Greeley to keep faith with Mr. Lincoln; and before he gives them a second "song of freedom," let them redeem their promise conditional on the first, to darken all the highways with the clouds of dust from a liberating army nine hundred thousand strong, marching South to the tune of old John Brown.—*New York Herald.*

BEASTLY DEGRADATION OF THE WHITE MAN. Every day the abolitionists are proceeding from bad to worse. This is always the case with fanaticism. No longer content to claim for the negro equality with the white race in mental and moral capacity, the leaders of the faction are now beginning to assert his superiority. Rev. Theodore Tilton, in one of his recent speeches, declared the negro only equal in all respects to the white man, but in many respects his superior. This is the most beastly utterance that has yet reached our ears. Probably the next announcement from the oracles of the abolition frenzy will be that the negro is equal to God himself, and that he ought to be set up for public worship in all our churches, after the example of the crazy Robespierrean madmen, of Paris, in the French revolution, who placed on the altar of the Cathedral of Notre Dame a nude courtesan, to be worshipped as the Goddess of Liberty. The only tendency of this attempt to deify the black, is to degrade the mean, dirty white men concerned in it. Nature's laws are not reversed by any amount of fanaticism.—*New York Herald.*

THE DRY TORTUGAS—SAUCE FOR THE GOOSE, SAUCE FOR THE GANDER. While Mr. Vallandigham, of Ohio, has been sentenced by a court martial to two years' imprisonment, involving hard labor and association with criminals of the lowest kind, on the island in the Gulf of Mexico, known as the Dry Tortugas (we wonder he was not sent to the Wet Tortugas,) for making a speech against the administration, Wendell Phillips, who has recently made a worse speech against the government, insulting to Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet, and denouncing the two senators from Massachusetts, is still at large, and neither provost marshal nor squadron of soldiers has been despatched to arrest him. In his late speech he has said more against the Constitution, the supreme law of the land, than all that Vallandigham ever said in the whole course of his life. Why should any distinction be made in the two cases? What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. But we are opposed to any such arrests. Liberty of speech, liberty of the press, and trial by jury, are among the sacred institutions of this republic solemnly guaranteed to all its citizens.—*Ibid.*

Selections.

LETTER FROM REV. SAMUEL J. MAY.

[Read at the recent Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society at New York.]

SYRACUSE, May 11th, 1863.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—Again must I be disappointed of the pleasure of attending the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, which will be thirty years old next December, and with which I have been connected since its birth. Domestic, and, still more, parochial duties will detain me here. I sincerely regret that I cannot be with you, and still more the principal reason why I cannot leave Syracuse this week. Quite a number of the young men of my church were in the late sanguinary battles near Fredericksburg. Some of them have been wounded. Two very severely. Several of them are among the missing. Whether they were killed, or were taken prisoners, we know not. And I am unwilling to leave their anxious friends while this dreadful uncertainty hangs over their fate. One of them in particular was "the strong staff" of his widowed mother, and "the beautiful rod" in the eyes of "all about him." It is horrible to think of him as a ghastly corpse among the masses of the slain, or, worse still, maimed and helpless amongst the dead, left by his retreating comrades, with no one to help him staunch his wound, or get him water to slake the burning thirst which excitement and the loss of blood are said to cause.

How cruel, how inhuman is war! Everything that you and I have ever alleged against the custom will be abundantly justified by what has been done and suffered in our country, within the past two years.

And, oh! how easily might this fratricidal, parricidal, suicidal war have been averted, if the professors of Christianity in our country had been real Christians! Thirty years ago, there was moral, ecclesiastical, religious power enough in the land to abolish slavery by *peaceful means*. But the men and women, who wielded that power, would not be persuaded to exert it in the right direction. They spurned, persecuted, killed those who exhorted them to do their duty; and wasted their strength, some of them upon abortive efforts to remove the *slaves* instead of *slavery* from the country; and others upon the still more hopeless task of proving that slavery is not hateful in the sight of God and his Christ, but that it is justified by the inspired writers both of the Old and of the New Testament.

So now we are suffering the most awful calamity that can befal a nation; just as the apostles of abolition, for the last thirty years, have been prophesying, and as Jefferson and St. George Tucker, and other seers and sages of the revolution, foretold we would.

We are in the midst of a civil war, and nothing is left for us to do but to fight on, at any expense of treasure and of life, until slavery—the cause of the war—is abolished. It is a miserable, wicked way to do it; but it is the way we have chosen, and we must travel it to the end. We have lost our hold upon the slaveholders as fellow-Christians, or fellow-citizens even; and now we must put them down, utterly down, as wicked rebels against God, and against the best form of civil government God has ever helped men to devise and to establish on earth.

No concession that we could make would satisfy "the Barons of the South," unless we should concede to them permission to introduce slavery into any or all of the States of our Union, and reöpen the African slave trade.

Separation would not end the strife; for the slaveholding States would be just as near the non-slaveholding as they now are; the sentiments of each would be just as hostile to those of the other as they are now; and the North star would be no further off.

No, my friend, shocking as the thought is, we are *left to fight* until slavery shall be abolished. And the conflict will be prolonged until the people of the loyal States have been sufficiently punished for their wicked participation in the great iniquity of the rebel States—that is, punished until they shall truly repent themselves of the sin of slavery, and of their cruel prejudice against the colored children of the Heavenly Father—until they shall cordially and gratefully receive the assistance of the despised members of our body politic in putting down this rebellion; and in good faith insure them a full participation in all the rights and privileges of freemen, on the same conditions that these are accorded to white citizens.

The grand doctrine of the Declaration of Independence is not a "mere rhetorical flourish," "a glittering generality." It is a gospel truth; an eternal principle of the righteousness of God; and we are required, in the providence of Him who ruleth over all, to conduct a civil government *based upon that principle*. We cannot throw off or evade the obligation. And all the elements are gathered within our borders for the fairest experiment. We have not a homogeneous but a heterogeneous population; not a people of one of the varieties of the human species, but of all the varieties—peoples of every kindred, every language, every clime, every complexion. And here let me say, those of African descent will not be found the most discordant element we have got to work up into a harmonious, self-governing Republic. But the least tractable are still human beings, children of the Heavenly Father, and therefore have an "inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The rights of citizens are conventional, to be agreed upon. But what they should be is scarcely less evident than are the rights of Humanity. All men and *all women* who have come to years of discretion, have a right to participate directly or indirectly in the enactment and administration of the laws to which they are amenable. But all rights are conditional. It is equally obvious, that no women nor men can have any right to meddle with what they know nothing about, certainly not to put their hands to the *ark* of our political existence, if they know not what it contains, how it is to be upheld, nor whither it is to be borne. Therefore no one should be admitted to the exercise of all the prerogatives of a citizen of this State, or of this Republic, who has not a good knowledge of the Constitutions of the State and the Republic. Let the conditions on which the elective franchise shall be granted to any one be placed where common sense obviously required they should be placed, and then admit all, men and women, natives and foreigners, colored as well as white, to the exercise of that prerogative when they shall have come up to such conditions. "To this complexion must our country come at last."

I am now particularly anxious that the public sentiment of our country should be raised to demand, for those who have been held as slaves, the right to the lands which they so long have tilled without compensation, and watered with their sweat, their tears, and their blood. The plantations of the South are their homes. To them they are strongly attached. They know better than their masters, certainly better than any strangers, how to cultivate them, and raise from them the productions to which they are best adapted. Let us then insist, that the confiscated estates of the rebels shall be divided, in suitable portions, amongst the inhabitants of those estates; and, if there be more lands than these need, let them be sold at government prices to such persons, black or white, as may be disposed to settle with them on friendly terms. The reports which we have of the industry, skill and rapid improvement of the freed men, women and children at Port Royal and the other sea islands of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, justify and elevate our highest hopes of this much abused variety of the American people.

And here let me say, in conclusion of my hasty and too long letter, that I earnessly hope our Anti-Slavery Society will, at this Annual Meeting, make cordial, grateful mention of the "National Freedman's Relief Association;" and advise the most hearty coöperation with it and kindred societies. For, so soon as slavery is abolished, all who have labored to that effect (so devoutly to be wished,) are in duty bound to do all they may to make the great change in the relations of the different varieties of people in the rebel States to each other as immediate and as great a blessing to all as we have confidently predicted it would be.

Yours, most truly, SAMUEL J. MAY.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *Pres. Am. A. S. Soc.*

THE LATE OUTRAGE UPON SURGEON AUGUSTA, IN BALTIMORE.

WASHINGTON, May 15th, 1863.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE REPUBLICAN:—

Sir,—Inasmuch as many misstatements relative to the assault upon me, in Baltimore, have been made, I deem it necessary, in justice to myself, as well as to all parties concerned, to give to the public a true statement of the facts as they occurred.

I started from my lodging in Mulberry street, near Pine, about a quarter past nine o'clock, on the morning of the 1st inst., in order to take the 10 a. m. train for Philadelphia. I went down Mulberry street to Howard, Howard to Baltimore, Baltimore to Gay, Gay to Pratt, Pratt to President, and thence to the depot. No one interfered with me during the whole route. I obtained my ticket from the agent, without the usual bond required of colored persons wishing to proceed North, and took my seat in the car—little expecting any one would make an attack upon me then.

After remaining in my seat about five minutes, I heard some one conversing behind me, but paid no attention to what they were talking about, when of a sudden, a boy about fifteen years of age, who appeared to be employed about the depot, came up behind me, and, swearing at me, caught hold of my right shoulder-strap, and pulled it off. I jumped up, and, turning towards him, found a man standing by his side, who had directed me which car to get in, and while I was remonstrating with the boy for what he had done, he pulled the other one off; while at the same time the boy threatened to strike me with a club he held in his hand. I then turned towards the door of the car near where I was standing, and found I was surrounded by about eight or ten roughs; and knowing that should I touch one of them, all the rest would pounce upon me, I thought it best to take my seat, and await what further issue might take place.

Shortly after I had taken my seat, the parties who had assaulted me left the car, and a policeman came in and stood near me. A person standing by asked him if he intended to interfere. He answered by saying it depended upon circumstances. I then turned towards him, and said to him, if you are a policeman, I claim your protection as a United States officer, who has been assaulted without a cause. Just about that time, I was informed that the provost guards were in the car, and that I had better apply to them for protection. I called to the guards, and told them I was a United States officer; that I had been assaulted, and my shoulder-straps torn off by employees of the road, and that I claimed their protection. Having satisfied them of my connection with the service, they assured me of their protection. I might have gone on in that train, but I was determined to stop back, so as to have the parties punished, knowing full well that the same thing might occur again, unless a stop was put to it at once. I therefore went up to the Provost Marshal's office with one of the guard, and reported the facts to Lieutenant Colonel Fish, the Provost Marshal.

He examined my commission, and finding it was all right, said he did not care who it was, so he was a United States officer, and claimed his protection, he should have it to the fullest extent. He then deputed Lieut. Morris to accompany me to the depot, and arrest the parties. The lieutenant told me I was as much authorized as an officer to arrest them as he was; and that I had better go ahead of him and the guard, fearing that if the parties saw them, they would get out of the way. He directed me, at the same time, that when I saw any one of the parties, to go up to him, and place my hand upon his shoulder, and claim him as my prisoner, and he would be on hand to take him in charge. I knew this was an extraordinary step for me to take in Baltimore, but I told him I would do it. I accordingly went down to the depot, and when near it I recognized one of the parties crossing the street. I went up to him, and, while accusing him of taking off my straps, put my hand upon his shoulder, and claimed him as my prisoner. I then ordered the guard to take him into custody, which he did. I then hunted around the depot for the boy, but could not find him.

The Lieutenant having come up by this time, we started for the Provost Marshal's office, and when opposite Marsh market, on Baltimore street, Lieut. Morris, the guard, and the prisoner, being on the opposite side of the street, a man, whom I learned afterwards to be named Hancock, emerged from the market, and assaulted me. I called the guard across, and had him taken into custody. We then proceeded to the office unmolested, where I remained till about half past 12 o'clock, when Lieutenant Morris told me it was time to start for the depot, to take the 1 o'clock train. I got ready, and we proceeded together, and every step we took, after leaving the office, the crowd which was standing around the door increased. No one, however, interfered with me, until we arrived at the corner of Pratt and President streets, when a man, whose name I since learned to be Dunn, was standing in our way, and as soon as I reached him, he dealt me a severe blow in the face, which stunned me for a moment, and caused the blood to flow from my nose very freely. In an instant, Lieutenant Morris seized him by the collar, and held him fast; and I, not knowing that there was any one else in the crowd to protect me, made for the first door I saw open. When I reached it, a woman was standing there, and pushed me back to prevent me from entering. In the meantime, I looked back and saw a person with my cap, and a revolver in his hand. He told me to stand still, that I was protected. I came down the steps, and proceeded between two guards, with revolvers drawn, until we reached the depot.

Upon our arrival, Lieutenant Morris put the prisoner upon a settee, and placed a guard over him, with orders to shoot him if he dared to stir from the spot. A short time after we arrived, two other persons were identified as having been engaged in the last assault upon me, and were arrested. I washed the blood from my face, and prepared to take my seat in the cars, when an officer, whom I subsequently learned to be Major Robertson, of Major General Hooker's staff, having learned the facts of the case from Lieutenant Morris, came up to me, and told me he was going to Philadelphia, and offered to protect me at the risk of his own life. The guard surrounded me with drawn revolvers, conducted me to the cars, and remained with me until the train started. During the time we were waiting for the train to start, I learned from the guard that when I was struck by Dunn, they were in the crowd dressed in citizens' clothes, and were just about to shoot him, when Lieutenant Morris ordered them not to shoot, as he had the prisoner safe.

When the train was about to start, Lieutenant Morris, in addition to Major Robertson, who had volunteered to protect me, sent on two armed cavalry, to guard me to Philadelphia, or as long as I might want them. I, however, did not consider it necessary to detain them after we arrived, and accordingly discharged them from any further attendance upon me. Since my return to Washington, I have learned that some of the parties have been tried, and sent to Fort McHenry.

These, Mr. Editor, are the facts of the case, and I deny, in toto, the profane language attributed to me by the Baltimore *Clipper*.

Now it seems that, in this transaction, I have been blamed by two classes of persons. The first say that I should not have passed through Baltimore in uniform; because, say they, the people of Baltimore are opposed to it; and even Union men do not wish to see colored men wearing the United States uniform.

Well, in answer to this class, I will say that the people of Baltimore were opposed to the Massachusetts troops passing through there two years ago, and mobbed them, but the Government of the United States was strong enough to put down that spirit then, and I apprehend it is strong enough now, to protect colored troops under similar circumstances. And furthermore, while I have always known Baltimore as a place where it is considered a virtue to mob colored people, still, I had a right to expect a safe transit through there, after the resolutions passed only two weeks before, at the National Union League, on the anniversary of the attack upon the Massachusetts troops; calling on the President of the United States to place not only spades, but muskets in the hands of black men to put down the rebellion. And more especially as I had only volunteered to bind up the wounds of those colored men who should volunteer, as well as those rebels and copperheads whom the fortune of war might throw into my hands. But, sir, I may take still higher grounds than these, to justify my course. For I hold, that my position as an officer of the United States entitles me to wear the insignia of my office, and if I am either afraid or ashamed to wear them anywhere, I am not fit to hold my commission, and should resign it at once.

The other class that blame me are those who say I acted wrongly in not shooting down any one who dared to interfere with me. Well, in answer to this class, I can only say, that while I am aware that I had the authority as an officer of the United States to defend myself to that extremity, I do not think, had I done so, I would have accomplished so much for liberty as I did by allowing those whose special duty it was to protect me.

The question has, no doubt, been frequently asked, What has been gained by this transaction? I will answer: It has proved that even in *rowdy Baltimore* colored men have rights that white men are bound to respect. For I was told by a gentleman since I returned, whom I saw in the crowd at Baltimore, that when Dunn was taken to the Provost Marshal's office, the Marshal reprimanded the officer who had him in charge for not shooting him when he struck me; and told him if a case of the kind occurs again, and the officer in charge does not shoot the aggressor, his commission shall be broken.

In conclusion, Mr. Editor, I desire to return my sincere thanks to Lieutenant Colonel Fish, for his prompt protection; to Lieutenant Morris, for the alacrity with which he carried out Colonel Fish's orders; to Major Robertson, for his kindness in volunteering his services; and to the brave men of the guard, for risking their lives in my defence.

I remain, sir,

Yours, very respectfully,

A. T. AUGUSTA,

Bachelor of Medicine, Surgeon U. S. V.

☞ We had the pleasure of taking Dr. Augusta by the hand, in Boston, a few days since. He is a young man of very prepossessing appearance, highly intelligent, and well educated. The brutality of the dastardly assault made upon him at Baltimore is transcended by the moral heroism exhibited by him on that trying occasion. All honor to the officers who so faithfully stood by him!—[ED. LIB.

WAR WITH ENGLAND.

In the natural irritation produced by the fact that our commerce is being driven off the ocean by the Confederate Pirates, built, manned and equipped in England, and with the strong sense of wrong done us by a professedly neutral and long allied nation in thus furnishing to the rebels the means of injuring us, it is not strange that indignation should for the time overcome other feelings, and that the temper of the nation should get the better of its reason. Therefore it is, that we have heard of late so many threats of war with England; that our weaker and more intemperate politicians have solicited the cheers of their audiences by talking about "an account to be settled," "a day of reckoning to come," and have from low, personal motives used present grievances to excite and deepen a lasting ill-will between our own and our mother country. Therefore also it is that our Press, too often following the pernicious example of the *London Times*, has inflamed the spirit of animosity by exaggeration and misrepresentation.

All this is unworthy of a nation, strong enough to be confident of its future, intelligent enough to understand its true interest, and noble enough to be guided in its course toward other nations by the rules of natural morality and honor.

There is great danger, moreover, in allowing our passions at such a moment to overcome our cooler judgment, lest they hurry us into action which might involve us in the most grievous calamities.

Whatever be the conduct of England toward us at this time, as yet there has been nothing in it which would justify on our part resort to the inconclusive arbitration of war. War between England and America would be as heavy a misfortune as could befall either nation. The great English-speaking race is essentially one, and is bound together by the strongest ties of common sympathies and common prospects. Without speaking of the miserable consequences that would instantly follow in both countries on a declaration of war, we may well pause to consider the lasting and remoter consequences of a conflict between England and America. Among them would be burdens added to the load already borne by the poor, woes brought home to many a household, the progress of free institutions checked, and the hopes of mankind for the long-desired day of brotherhood and peace, disappointed and crushed. A calamity so terrible as this war would be is to be averted at any sacrifice, save that of national dignity and honor.

Every lover of free institutions, and every man who has the interests of his own country and of humanity at heart, is bound to exercise whatever influence he may possess to prevent difficulties which may be settled by peaceful methods, and in a just, calm spirit, from dragging the people of America and England into unwilling war.

The true state of the case is this, that war between England and America is earnestly desired by the Confederates, and is the last hope of the rebels. It is they and their allies who have stirred up the ill-will between the two countries; it is they who by their paid agents are endeavoring to complicate every question that may arise between the two governments, and to render peaceful conclusions impossible. And while the secessionists and their Northern allies are the main fomenters of war on this side of the Atlantic, the aristocrats in England are the only war party there. They are naturally in sympathy with the slaveholders. The success of the nation in this contest in which we are engaged, a success which is assured, if we keep from foreign war, is the success of the democracy everywhere; it is the success of equal rights, of free institutions, of free and well-paid labor, of individual independence all the world over. There is nothing strange in the fact that a powerful and rich landed aristocracy should instinctively, as a class, dread and desire to prevent this success. "The cause of the aristocracy," says Professor Goldwin Smith of Oxford, one of the ablest and most independent of English thinkers, "the cause of the aristocracy on both sides of the Atlantic is one; and accordingly, our aristocracy and the parliament in which it predominates have shown for the cause of the slave-owner an enthusiasm which they have never shown for any other cause in history. The cause of the people on both sides of the Atlantic is also one; and a large part of the English people now feel this to their heart's core." Let the American people also feel this, and resolve that neither the slave-owners of America nor the aristocracy of England shall succeed in provoking a war which would be undertaken by them for the sake of establishing class privileges more securely in England, and of perpetuating the system of slavery in America.

That the English people are really at heart one with the American people, is manifest by the warmth of their sympathy with us in our struggle as expressed in great meetings in their chief cities; by their loud, indignant protests against the course of the government in the matter of the "Alabama;" by their refusal to be misled by the delusive promises of rebel agents. The English government already, by its altered tone, shows the force of this current of popular opinion. With a wise forbearance on our part, with a firm and cool maintenance of our own just claims, and a fair and ready admission of the just claims against us, with a careful avoidance of violent words, of threats of force, of sullen and resentful demeanor in our dealings with England, we shall serve our own great cause far better than it could be served by any course which should estrange from us the hearts of the English people. If we conquer the South, and exterminate the rebels, we conquer our enemies in England, and we win the battle for the people there as well as here. The interests of humanity and of civilization are to be promoted, the cause of freedom and equal rights to be advanced, by keeping and establishing a peace which shall unite the people of England and America in a permanent brotherhood. Peace is for the people's sake, war would be for the interest of the aristocracy and the slave-owner.

GENERAL HAMILTON ON THE WAR.

On Monday evening, 4th inst., General A. J. Hamilton, of Texas, eloquently addressed a large assembly at the Tremont Temple in Boston. The receipts for admission were for the benefit of the Discharged Soldiers' Home. In the course of his speech, Gen. H. met the complaint of the Copperheads, that the object of the war had been changed, as follows:—

Upon the subject of the object of the war having been changed, I say it is still a war to suppress the rebellion. It may be that, at its commencement, the Executive of the United States did not understand much better than the country at large the spirit which actuated the men who are leading the rebellion. It may be that he could not conceive it possible that men should engage in a struggle, such as they were engaged in, with the deliberate purpose of breaking down free government, in order that they might rear upon it a government, the corner-stone of which should be slavery, and the establishment of which would involve the destruction of the democratic principle in government. It may have been that the war continued for months before the government came to a clear understanding of the issue involved in the struggle, as the South, to-day, declare it to the civilized world. I, for one, accepted it as they tendered it, and I am grateful to God that the President of the United States, and, as I believe, the great body of the people, (which is better,) have taken them at their word, and intend to accept it as they tender it. (Applause.) The war, then, has not been changed in its object and purpose. It is still a war to suppress rebellion against free government, and in order to do that, the government has at last determined to put the heel of power upon the cause of the rebellion, and crush it together with the rebellion. (Prolonged applause.) If slavery threatens the integrity and existence of the government, does not the simplest method of self-preservation call upon the government to make war upon the thing that threatens its existence? (Applause.)

I believe it to be a law of war universally acknowledged, that the commander of an army may weaken the public enemy by taking whatever adds to his means of aggressive warfare. The people of the South have always contended that, except in so far as three fifths of the slaves of the South were to be counted in fixing the ratio of representation in the Congress of the United States, they were regarded by the Constitution as property simply—as any other cattle, or goods, or chattels. I take their argument for what it is worth. The slaves are one thing or the other—property or men. If they are men, and loyal to the government, then the government has a right to call upon them to rally to its support. (Applause.) If they are property in the hands of men in rebellion against the government, it is the duty of the government—and it unquestionably has the power to do its duty—to dispossess the public enemy of that means of protracting the struggle. (Renewed applause.)

But it is said that if the President has power to do this, he surely has not the power to take that species of property from the hands of loyal men. I take the position that the government not only has the right to take away the slaves of loyal men as well as of rebels, but that it may dispossess every man in the South, without reference to his political character, of every vestige of property, if that is necessary in order to crush the rebellion. (Applause.) It is not an unfamiliar principle to the people of this government, that the interests of the few must, in trying emergencies, give way to the interests of the great public. But it does seem to me that these objectors ought to wait until the loyal men of the South interpose this objection. I undertake to say, that when the government has discharged its duty to the rebels, when it has dispossessed them of the slaves they now have and use to protract this struggle, no loyal man in the South will be heard to complain. I have the pleasure of announcing that I know many loyal men in the South—slaveholders—and some of them large slaveholders—who are just as thankful as I am, or you can be, that the government has at last determined to pursue this course. I pity the man in old Massachuset's, who dreams that the people of this State or of the North are ever again to occupy the old standpoints in regard to slavery. The world is moving, and if you do not keep pace with it, you will be left far behind. Slavery is doomed, whether you like it or not. I rejoice, that under the President's Proclamation of the first of January, the slaves of the rebel States are to-night, legally, as free as you or I; and I can find it in my heart to thank God that while, as I believe, the President had the power, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, to make free every man held in bondage, the framers of the Constitution did not have it in their hearts to give the Executive, or any other department of the Government, or to the great body of the people, the power legally and constitutionally to make a slave of a free man anywhere. (Prolonged applause.)

BAPTIZING A SLAVE GIRL.

The New York *Times* says:—"Yesterday, at Plymouth Church, was the regular Sabbath for the baptism of infants, and the delightful Spring morning tempted a larger number of parents than usual to bring their offspring forward. Having administered the rite to all but one of the children, Mr. Beecher paused a moment, and, turning to his interested audience, stated that there was still another child to be christened. Her history, however, contained a moral, and he should take the liberty of carrying her upon the platform, where all present might look upon her features. This preface caused a flutter of increasing interest, which was not abated until the reverend gentleman had ascended the pulpit steps, bearing in his arms a little, laughing-eyed, sweet-faced, fair-haired girl of five years, who nestled closely against his breast, toying with his watch-guard, as she timidly met, with her dark, lustrous eyes, the concentrated gaze of the now hushed congregation. In a voice tremulous and tearful, and in words that touched a sympathetic chord in the hearts of his hearers, Mr. Beecher told about the child. "She was born in slavery," he said. "A benevolent woman, who was nursing our sick soldiers in the hospital at Fairfax, found her, sore and tattered and unclean, and requested the good sister who has adopted her to bring her North, and take care of her. She will be treated as this lady's own child, and it is designed to educate her as a teacher for her race. Look upon this child," continued Mr. Beecher, "and tell me if you ever saw a fairer, sweeter face? And this child," he added, "is a sample of the slavery which absorbs into itself everything fair and attractive. The loveliness of this child would only make her so much more valuable as a chattel; for while your children are brought up to fear and serve the Lord, this little one, just as beautiful, would be made, through slavery, a child of damnation.

The whole force of my manhood revolts and rises up in enmity against an institution that cruelly exposes such children to be sold like cattle. (Loud applause.) Look upon this child," he repeated in conclusion, "and take way with you an impression of her beauty, and remember to what a shocking fate slavery would bring her! May God strike for our armies and the right, that this accursed thing may be utterly destroyed!" (Renewed applause.)

Mr. Beecher then baptized the child, Fanny Virginia Cassiopia Lawrence; the last name being that of the lady who adopted her. He announced afterward, that although this good lady was in moderate circumstances, and quite willing to bear unaided the burden that she had assumed, yet if any present desired to contribute to defray the expense of educating the child, the privilege would be given. In response, at the conclusion of the service, the donations were quite liberal. Plymouth Church is eminently the place of extraordinary incidents, but probably never before has an episode so stirred and affected the congregation.

GREAT EMANCIPATION MEETING IN FINSBURY.

A great emancipation meeting was held yesterday evening in Finsbury Chapel, Moorfields. The chapel accommodates between 2,000 and 3,000 persons, and it was crowded in every part, many persons being compelled to stand. The Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel presided, and on the platform were M. D. Conway, Esq., of Virginia; Rev. F. Trestrall, Rev. R. Ashton, Rev. John Hall, Rev. W. Dorling, Rev. J. Sella Martin, Rev. John Kennedy, Rev. J. Bowrey, Rev. S. Saunders, Rev. James Key, Rev. J. H. Rylance, Messrs. W. J. Malleson, Mr. William Evans, (Chairman of the Emancipation Society,) Mr. F. W. Chesson, Mr. W. J. Probyn, &c.

The Chairman opened the proceedings in a lengthy address. Some persons, he said, defended slavery from Scripture; but their arguments were utterly without foundation. Our Lord had laid it down that we ought to love our neighbor as ourselves, and slavery was utterly inconsistent with such a principle. [Cheers.] After dwelling for some time on the atrocities of slavery, he went on to remark that Mr. Lincoln's proclamation was not the first proof he had given of his sympathy for the slave. [Applause.] It had been maintained that he had intended to raise a servile war, and to induce the slaves to murder their masters; but results had shown the falsehood of such an assertion. Some said that Mr. Lincoln was not sincere; he had, it was said, emancipated where he had no power, and had refrained from emancipating where he had the power. After showing that Mr. Lincoln was not open to the accusations brought against him, and that he had acted in strict conformity with the Constitution, he argued that if the Federals were successful, the 4,000,000 of slaves would be freed, but that if the slaveholders gained their independence, the negroes would be kept in bondage. It was his belief that the Federals would be successful. The Northern people were determined to prosecute the war until the struggle terminated in their favor. If he looked at the South, he saw manifestations that the North would gain. He did not place much stress on the uncompromising tone which the South had exhibited. It was necessary for them that they should maintain a determined attitude, or it would be considered that they were borne down by despair. He attached great importance to the recent declaration of Jefferson Davis to the effect, that if supplies were not obtained by sowing grain, the consequences to the Confederacy would be disastrous. Southern troops in some cases were subsisting on half rations, and although Mr. Davis said this would be remedied, yet he [Mr. Noel] was of opinion that the Southern President believed this to be impossible. [Cheers.] Mr. Noel then said he greatly rejoiced at the statements which had been made by a Georgian gentleman to the intelligent correspondent of the *Star*, and which had appeared in that journal on the 5th of May. Having read the statement in question, Mr. Noel again expressed his opinion that the North would be successful, and concluded by calling on the Rev. John Kennedy to move the first resolution.

Mr. Kennedy moved, "that this meeting, believing slavery to be anti-Christian, and opposed to every principle of justice and humanity, cordially approves the emancipation policy now being carried out by the Government of the United States, and offers to the people of the loyal States the assurance of its heartfelt sympathy in their present struggle against the despotism sought to be perpetuated and extended by the slaveholders' Confederacy." They could not read the life of the Saviour, or ponder the spirit of the Gospel, without coming to the conclusion that slavery was entirely unchristian. [Cheers.] He thought that some men in this country had not studied their Bibles very closely, and that they had quite forgotten the anti-slavery spirit which prevailed thirty years ago. He was glad of some manifestations of feeling in this country. An address had recently been sent here by the Protestant pastors of France, and it had been responded to by some 2,000 ministers in this country. [Loud cheers.] These ministers belonged to all the Protestant denominations. It would not surprise him if this address should yet be signed by 10,000 ministers. Not only was slavery anti-Christian, it was also anti-Mosaic and anti-Judaic. [Loud cheers.] Entering somewhat into detail, Mr. Kennedy in a close, argumentative way, examined the chief features of American slavery, maintaining that no warrant could be found for the system in the Mosaic dispensation. He might, on some of the political questions involved in the struggle, not entirely coincide with some gentlemen beside him, but this he would say, that the rebellion had been raised for the purpose of preserving and extending slavery. [Hear.] He would also admit that although at the outset the war had been undertaken by the North to maintain the Union, yet it was now, through the force of circumstances, fighting not only for the Union, but also for the emancipation of the slaves. [Loud cheers.]

Mr. Probyn seconded the resolution.

Mr. Conway, having stated that he was from Virginia, that he had embraced the principles he then held from the most conscientious motives, dwelt with emphasis on the fact that the Abolitionists in America had never raised the hue and cry against the English people. [Cheers.] They felt warmly for the land of Granville Sharpe and Wilberforce. Mr. Conway then proceeded to give much interesting information touching the modes of thought and the exhibitions of public feeling in the South previous to the breaking out of the war. In his youth he had devoutly hated the Yankees, but he had never seen one of them until he had reached twenty years of age. He next dwelt on the fact that the South had never promised that it would not, in the event of its becoming independent, re-open the slave trade. The several States would vote for such a course, and the Central Government would have the excuse of saying that it could not interfere with their decision. He then in an eloquent strain dilated on the great duty owing by the North to work out the emancipation of the negro, and then discussed what were the probabilities of that result being secured. By the census of 1860, the white population of the South was 4,622,000, while the slaves were 3,371,000. The population of the North was 23,462,000, and up to the present time the North had absolutely shrunk from putting forth its full power. The dollar in the South was a myth, and there were some few pieces of gold in the museums as specimens of an ancient metal. [Laughter and cheers.] The North was gradually taking the slaves from the wrong side, and setting them on the right; consequently, the population was rising toward 29,000,000. He believed the North would be successful, and it would take a tremendous vengeance on the South by heaping upon it the blessings of justice and plenty. [Loud cheers.]

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously, amid great cheering.

The Rev. J. Sella Martin then proposed;—"That this meeting recognises in the rebellion of the slaveholders in the Southern States of America, an attempt to found a Government upon a principle which the civilized world has long pronounced infamous, and inimical to the rights and interests of mankind; that this meeting, therefore, regards all attempts to afford assistance or support to the Southern Confederacy, by supplying ships, arms, or money, as an offence against morality, and worthy of indignant reprobation; and calls upon her Majesty's Ministers to frustrate, by all the means within their power, the designs of those persons, who from base motives attempt to equip vessels of war, and by other means offend against the provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act, in support of an unholy war against human liberty and constitutional Government; and this meeting further resolves that a petition in accordance with this resolution be signed by the chairman on behalf of the meeting, and forwarded to her Majesty's Government." The Rev. Mr. Martin continued:—It had, he said, been argued that the South ought to have been let go, but the negro said that he also ought to have been let go. [Hear.] Had they considered what would be the result of the South being independent? The South would join with Spain in conquering Central America. Then Brazil would be forced to join a great Southern Confederation. The slave trade would be revived, England in her endeavors to prevent it might be drawn into a war, and the result for the black man would be that a system of organized cruelty, even more atrocious than that of American slavery, would be established. [Applause.]

Rev. Mr. Dorling, in an eloquent speech, seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. F. W. Chesson, then, in the name of the meeting and the Emancipation Society, moved a vote of thanks to the chairman for the impartial manner in which he had presided, and for the able and valuable services he had rendered to the emancipation movement. The motion was adopted. — *London Morning Star, May 7.*

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 29, 1863.

A SHORT CUT TO SALVATION.

It is plain we have not yet arrived at that stage of the war when defeat begins to be an unmixed disaster. Never was the proverb true, if not in our case, that "knowledge by suffering entereth;" and if the past two years have been to us an unsparing schoolmaster, we are none the less beholden for every stripe we have received. Not one could we have dispensed with, not one which has not borne us wholesome fruit. Indeed, personal accountability aside, that bloodiest scourge of all, the hero of the Peninsula, may be reckoned our most undoubted benefactor, and not less necessary to our moral success than the first Bull Run retreat to our military. So Pope's campaign in Virginia, Banks's in the valley of the Shenandoah; so the unhappy slaughter at Fredericksburg last winter, were invaluable aids to the education of people and government, in whom they confirmed the growing principle of hostility to slavery to a degree which is marked indelibly by the proclamation of January first. And now again we sit down defeated. Be the blame where it may, in the men who fight or the men who lead—in the army of the Potomac, in Hooker or Halleck—our arms are once more baffled, and the Confederacy still stands. What follows? Is freedom driven back, or, as has hitherto happened, is not slavery after all the main loser, and never so near its doom as in the seeming hour of victory? Had the President's proclamation covered the whole slave territory, and swept the accursed system by irrevocable law from the entire land, then might we deem a repulse in the field an unquestionable loss to the cause of justice. But not until that day arrives can we fail to shudder at a too early triumph, or not to be comforted even in the bitter hour of discomfiture.

One broad ray of hope slants athwart the dreariness of the present prospect. The speech of Adjutant General Thomas, in Arkansas, and the consequent instant organization of a dozen regiments of freedmen, are encouraging signs of the healthiness of the administration, and the ultimate prophecy and proof of the downfall of slavery. Join to these new forces those already recruited or recruiting in New Orleans, Port Royal, Newbern, and Massachusetts, and we may fairly estimate our colored allies by the first of September at 50,000 men. Unhappily there is a meanwhile, in which perhaps four times as many white troops withdraw from the service. An ever vigilant foe is ready to make our necessity his opportunity, and to bridge the season of famine with victory. In defence, we resort to the tardy process of conscription, exposed to the wilful hinderance of the factious, and the unavoidable delays even of the loyal. Now is the time for that military necessity which justly bereaves our Northern hearths for the preservation of the nation, to complete its settlement of the irrepressible conflict, and to ensure the freedom of what it preserves. The Border States, like every dog, have had their day. Suppose, now, we take our turn. Suppose Mr. Lincoln should say to them: "Gentlemen, you have stood in the way of this war long enough. At the outset, while you were the immediate bone of the controversy, I offered you the weightiest inducements to link your fortunes forever to those of the North. You declined to sell out your slaves, though I warned you that the hour of barter might not return again. I now have a new proposition to make, and not so much a proposal as a determination. This time I take your slaves, and fix my own price upon them. They are 'henceforth and forever free.' The young, the decrepit and the aged, together with the women, will be protected in their rights, and encouraged to support themselves by systematic labor. I enroll the able-bodied freedmen in the army of the United States, as soldiers and as citizens to respect and have recourse to the same laws as yourselves. If there is aught in this that you deem unpalatable, you will please remember who rendered this course inevitable."

General Burnside's order, distinguishing between the blacks in Kentucky liable to and exempt from the application of the fugitive slave law, and the recent fugitive case from Maryland, adroitly evaded at Washington, show clearly enough that speedy action is necessary to avoid the most shocking collisions and contradictions in our national policy. Make these impossible with a stroke of the pen. Raise as large an army of freedmen as the Border States can evoke. Put Fremont at the head of the column, and send him southward; and Mr. Seward may prophesy, this time with absolute certainty, the ruin of rebellion, home treason and slavery in thirty, sixty or ninety days!—W. P. G.

NEW PUBLICATION.

LEAVES FROM THE DIARY OF AN ARMY SURGEON; or, Incidents of Field, Camp, and Hospital Life. By Thomas T. Ellis, M. D., late Post Surgeon at New York, and acting Medical Director at Whitehouse, Virginia. New York: John Bradburn.

A dull book, bunglingly written and incorrectly printed; devoid of vigorous description and almost of interest; meagre in its details of Camp or Hospital experience, great in recording the wonderful achievements of the author; infelicitous in the choice, and unskilful in the employment and working up of its "incidents;" singularly deficient in chronological system and clearness; almost worthless in its confused compilation of a dozen battle-histories;—but one thing was wanting to complete its flatness, and that, a dedication to George B. McClellan. In fact, a principal object of the doctor seems to have been to resuscitate the leader who lies, as it were, at this moment, between the two stools of Northern and Southern contempt. To this end he inscribes his work to him, "as a token of admiration and respect for his skill as a General; his bravery as a soldier; his courtesy as a superior officer; his honor as a gentleman; his Christian sympathy for the wounded soldiers of the Army of the Potomac; and his kindness as a man." On every count but the first, he has nothing to say by way of testimony. How ably he supports the claim of "skill as a General," may be inferred from the fact that he mentions, without blushing, the "stupid blundering and guilty mismanagement of the Federal forces;" says that, in his opinion, "obedience is the duty of all military men;" speaks of exposing White house to Stuart's raid as "a singular oversight" and "a blunder;" and finally, in describing one of those opportunities for a successful "On to Richmond" which occurred early in the seven days' Peninsular retreat, says:—

"Just at this exciting juncture, the order was received from headquarters to 'withdraw gradually to the original line.' This was at about half past 11 A.M. [As usual,] General McClellan and staff rode upon the field at 1 P.M. . . . All were then in amazement at the recent unaccountable order. But he soon saw how affairs stood, and ordered, very shortly after, *that the same advance should be made again!*"

The admirer of such strategy, it is needless to add, talks of "unconstitutional inroads made on Southern institutions;" displays a genuine copper-colored heat over the "firebrands of emancipation proclamations;" and hints at all the stale arguments of the anti-slavery conflict, by which the slave is proved to be happy where he is, mildly treated, unfit for freedom, and little grateful to philanthropic abolitionists. The doctor must belong to a very old school of practice, if these are the means he uses to heal such broken reputations as those of the "corner-stone" and Chickahominy Nap. [For sale by Lee & Shepard.]—W. P. G.

☞ The Thirtieth NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION will be held this day, FRIDAY, May 29, in the TREMONT TEMPLE—day and evening—commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M. Speeches will be made by Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY, of Syracuse, Rev. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE, Rev. A. A. MINER, and others.

WHAT CONSTITUTES A CHRISTIAN?

It is a wise rule that Jesus has left for discerning the true character of men: "By their FRUITS ye shall know them." There is no test so sure. It is so simple that the commonest mind can apprehend and apply it. If the churches which claim to exemplify the principles of the great Judean, instead of instituting arbitrary and unnatural standards by which to measure humanity, had adopted the method which he used, there might have been less theology, but the world would have had infinitely more Christianity.

In this country, the term Christian, from its universal misuse, has almost ceased to have any real value. It has been so often claimed by men immoral and unprincipled in their lives, because of loud professions and worldly standing, and their claim allowed, that the perverted sense has become the popular acceptation, and truly religious men have been forced, for the sake of decency and conscience, to be infidel,—not to true Christianity, but, to use the expression of Mr. Phillips, "infidel to a church which could be at peace in the presence of sin."

The debauching influence which slavery has had upon the politics of the country is constantly manifest in our hampered and half-hearted efforts to crush the rebellion. We still cling with infatuation to ancient prejudices which are being whipped out of us, one after another, by each successive disaster to our arms. So the falsities of the popular religion are being eliminated by the same painful process. When the American Church consented to recognize a slaveholder as a Christian, it plunged into a state of moral obliquity and confusion unparalleled. Slavery could ask for nothing more. That granted, and the institution was intrenched behind a Gibraltar; for, of necessity, the Christianity of buying and selling human beings followed, and whoever struck at the sin was forced to assail its bulwark.

Strange to say, two years of bloody war have not opened the eyes of the North to the consequences of this fatal admission. Still do loyal men and journals, with inexplicable and censurable stultification, repeat the transparent lie.

A note—for example—appears in the Boston *Journal*, written by Mr. William G. Webster of Beacon street, in vindication of General Lee, of Virginia, from alleged cruelty to his slaves, in which he says, "I know that, before he became a traitor, he was a gentleman and a Christian." The transition of Lee from a slaveholder to a traitor being both natural and logical, no reasonable man would argue that his character was necessarily changed by the event; for the first condition always implied the second. Consequently, eulogizing the slaveholder as a gentleman and a Christian is equivalent to eulogizing the traitor.

In the New York *Independent* of May 14 is an editorial article on the late "Stonewall" Jackson, in which the editor makes this extraordinary confession:—"We think of him now as a noble-minded gentleman, a rare and eminent Christian (!) For years he has been an active member of the Presbyterian church, of which he was the ruling elder. He never, in all the occupations of the camp, or temptations of campaigns, *lost the fervor of his piety, or remitted his Christian duties.*" (!!)

On this continent, all pandemonium is in insurrection against liberty, justice and religion. It is darkness seeking to overwhelm light. At the head of Freedom's enemies, towering like giants, striving with the energy of indomitable purpose to subvert Christianity itself, Robert E. Lee and "Stonewall" Jackson have stood preëminent. Only minds educated under the bewildering influences of slavery could commit the absurdity of attributing to such men a Christian character. Yet Northern pens have volunteered the tribute, and the public silence with which this monstrous heresy is received indicates the condition of moral blindness in which slavery has left us.

Think of Jesus leading the hosts of perdition to the conquest of Paradise, in order to extend there the institutions of the bottomless pit! Not less imagination does it require to place at the head of Slavery's armies, disciples of Him who came to "proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof," and to "undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free."

"Ye shall know them by their FRUITS. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" In the cause of Satan, "Stonewall" Jackson lost his life; and, though he were an active member of all the churches in the land, yea, a ruling elder thereof, and unremitting in the fervor of his piety, he cannot delude the Almighty. Editors and ministers may endorse his Christianity, but it only proves their own heathenism. The eye of Omniscience distinguishes the thistles from the figs.

That certain qualities belong to Lee and Jackson, which challenge admiration, we admit. So Milton, in his "Paradise Lost," invests Satan with qualities which would add greatness to angels. Not one deserved virtue would we pluck from the rebel chiefs; but against the manifest misnomer of "*Christian*" which distorted minds claim for them, we protest in the name of all that is morally true and just. We may exclaim with Milton—

"O Heaven! that such resemblance of the highest
Should yet remain, where faith and reality
Remain not!"

But to fall in with the popular cry which seeks to deify bad men, is to discredit Christianity, and make a mockery of religion.—W. L. G., JR.

VIRGINIAN CHIVALRY.

The *Journal* of the 13th inst. contains an account, written by a young man in the army of the Potomac to his father in this vicinity, of his interview with an aged slave of the rebel General Lee, and of facts by him related as to the treatment of slaves by that eminent representative of the aristocracy of Virginia.

General Lee had immense possessions, owning 1,800 acres and 400 slaves at Arlington, and large tracts of land elsewhere in Virginia. His wealth, no doubt, springs from the cultivation of the great staple of that State, the "vigintial crop," for the old slave who gave this account had seen seven of his ten children sold away from him. It was deeply affecting to hear the old man speak of his wrongs, and his anguish at losing his children, one by one, as they reached the point of value to the itinerant slave-trader. But this was the expected fate of them all. He knew, he said, that "they would have to be sold some time." How else could his master's accustomed luxury be maintained?

General Lee was a severe master, more dreaded by his slaves than even the overseers. One specimen of his cruelty, heard by the soldier within sight of the barn where it was committed, was the following: Four boys and a girl, accused of the heinous crime of going to catch fish for their supper after a hard day's work in the rain, were ordered by the General to be flogged, and all the slaves were called together to witness the punishment. The overseer flogged the *boys*, (a male slave, you know, never outgrows the designation "boy,") until their backs were raw and bleeding. Next came the girl. Her back was stripped, and her hands tied up so that her feet could just touch the floor. The overseer's heart was touched, and he first hesitated, and then refused, in spite of repeated commands from his master, to inflict the punishment. General Lee then snatched the whip from him, and with his own hands inflicted the lashes, drew the customary blood, and poured upon the raw wounds the customary brine.

The writer of the letter gives full expression to the indignant feelings excited by this narration, and the Editor of the *Journal* remarks that such scenes "forcibly illustrate the brutalizing effects of slavery." But another of the pernicious influences naturally and necessarily flowing from slavery is suggested by the following paragraph from the Richmond *Sentinel*:—

PRESENT TO GEN. LEE. "We have seen the beautiful gold spurs sent to Gen. Robert E. Lee by some of his friends and admirers in Prince George County, Md. They were very neatly ornamented and suitably inscribed. By all the rules of chivalry, Gen. Lee has won his spurs as a true knight, and so the ladies and gentlemen of Prince George's have emphatically pronounced, and bestowed them accordingly. Long may he wear them!

When men and women become accustomed to live on the extorted labor of slaves, to sell them whenever pocket money is needed, and to keep down insubordination and complaint by whatever amount of scourging is necessary for the purpose, there must needs result to these people not only hardness of heart in regard to their victims, but blindness of mind in regard to themselves and each other. They use, in speaking of each other, the terms "noble," "excellent," "generous," "refined"—and especially that favorite Virginian epithet, "chivalrous," without in the least perceiving, or suspecting, that acts like General Lee's, above narrated, are inconsistent with these terms of praise. There is nothing noble in oppressing the poor and friendless around you, precisely *because* they are poor and friendless; there is nothing excellent in deliberately framing the laws so as to assist and perpetuate that oppression; there is nothing generous in doling out to dependent laborers merely that amount of food and clothing which will keep them in good working order; there is nothing refined in buying, selling and using young females as "breeders," and in making a living out of the sale of their feminine attractions and capabilities; and there is nothing chivalrous in choosing and continuing a mode of life which includes the occasional flogging of women and selling of children. But Virginian slaveholders, by the force of habit, have come to regard all these matters, not only as indifferent in their moral aspect, but as matters of course in the life of a "gentleman." These things, precisely these, are the hot-bed, out of which spring the "first families of Virginia."

A slave overseer is looked upon as a mean and contemptible person. A slave-trader is thought to occupy the lowest depth of meanness. But who creates the situations that call these men into being? Who hire the overseer and the slave-trader to do their dirty work, and to lead their base and atrocious lives? It is precisely such persons as General Lee, and the "ladies" and "gentlemen" of Prince George's County who compliment and honor him. It is they, claiming to lead the van of American society, and to be the flower of civilization in the Western world, who in fact occupy the lowest depth of meanness, beneath the overseer and the slave-trader.

A similar example of the manner in which slavery perverts the intellect, while it debases the morals, is seen in the compliments showered upon Preston Brooks on account of his assault upon Charles Sumner. Nothing could be more unjustifiable than this attack, nothing more brutal than its method, nothing more mean and cowardly than the manner and circumstances of its perpetration. But the "gentlemen" of South Carolina presented the ruffian with a stout cane, inscribed "Hit him again," and the "ladies" all over the South vied with each other in complimentary addresses to him. They actually saw nothing mean or dishonorable in the act of brutally beating the defenceless. They were *accustomed*, the "ladies," as well as the "gentlemen," to do this in their own houses, and on their own plantations. To use, to the utmost, the power given them by circumstances over the poor and weak, was not only the theory and practice wherein they were educated, but the method whereby they get their living. Their idea of "chivalry" includes this as one of its essential parts. Their idea of meanness is, the habit of doing, and the preference for doing, one's own work, instead of compelling another person to do it gratis.

In the *Journal* of the 14th inst. appeared the following note:—

"GEN. LEE AND HIS SLAVES.

To the Editor of the Boston Journal:

In your issue of Wednesday morning, I read a notice of the rebel General Lee's treatment of his servants, as illustrating the brutalizing influences of slavery. The statements of your correspondent, however, do such injustice to the private character of Gen. Lee, that I am constrained to pronounce them false in every essential particular. Gen. Lee was never cruel to his slaves. From personal observation, in many a protracted visit to Arlington House, I know that his servants were treated with the most considerate kindness, and I cannot believe that any negro *belonging* to that estate ever breathed one word against its master.

Bitterly and immediately as I have suffered from Gen. Lee's defection from his former loyalty, in the loss of everything that made life dear to me, I know that before he became a traitor, he was a gentleman and a Christian, and never could have so forgotten himself and his high position as to strike a negro, and that negro a *woman*, too. As a relative and former friend of Lee, will you permit me to affirm that though his political sins are legion, his domestic virtues are unimpeachable? Respectfully yours,

WM. G. WEBSTER,
22 Beacon Street.

We read of an Irishman who, when his cousin was arraigned in court, on the testimony of a witness that he saw him commit a certain crime, proposed to offset this evidence by positively swearing that *he* did *not* see him commit it. Mr. William G. Webster goes further than this. He not only puts in the negative testimony, that he, the said William, saw nothing but the most considerate kindness to slaves during his protracted visits at Arlington House, but he *pronounces* the statements of another witness, a permanent resident on the estate, respecting matters that took place within *his* knowledge, to be "false in every essential particular." Nay, he goes further than this, positively declaring that General Lee was *never* cruel to his slaves, and that he, the said William, "cannot believe" that any negro *belonging* to the estate would make such charges.

All this, like the Irishman's irrelevant testimony in behalf of *his* kinsman, might pass unregarded, as it deserves, were it not for the fact that many unreflecting Northern people take sweeping, general statements like the above for pertinent and sufficient evidence; and get the impression, moreover, not only that statements like Mr. Webster's prove *something*, but that they prove a humane and Christian character for slaveholders and slave-traders.

The only thing that such statements prove is a disposition in the witness to make assumptions in favor of his kinsman, and to disregard, not only probability, but evidence, where it is unfavorable to him.

Mr. Webster *knows*, from personal observation, that General Lee was a gentleman and a Christian, and that the servants "*belonging*" to him were treated with the most considerate kindness.

The servants "belonging" to him! It appears, then, that the claim of ownership in hundreds of human beings is assumed, by the witness now on the stand, to be quite unexceptionable, and perfectly consistent with the character of a gentleman and a Christian.

But shall not a man do what he will with his own? Is he not to have the use of his property, and to use it according to his own judgment? By whipping his refractory horse, Gen. Lee would not forfeit his character as a Christian and a gentleman. Why should he forfeit it by whipping his refractory nigger?

But the piece of property in question was a woman! Very well; is she any less the *property* of the owner for that? Is feminine property less subject to the supreme control of the owner than masculine property? Is feminine property to disobey orders with impunity, when masculine property, offending in the same way, receives raw wounds, with brine-dressing, as the necessary penalty?

But the witness knows, "from personal observation," that the custom of General Lee was to treat this particular sort of property with the most considerate kindness.

Kindness, that is, considering its position as property. The witness will not pretend that this kindness extended so far as to treat these 400 movables as human beings; to treat them as having minds, souls, affections, preferences, aspirations; to inquire and fulfil their wishes in regard to freedom of locomotion, place of residence, choice of occupation, wages of labor, freedom of speech and of assemblage for their own purposes, inviolable and indissoluble marriage, the possession and control of their offspring, and freedom of education for themselves and their children. All of these are of course out of the question. "Kindness" includes not one of these things.

What, then, is kindness to this sort of property? Is it any other than giving a peck and a half of corn a week, instead of the peck elsewhere customary? Giving coarse trousers, petticoats, hats, bonnets and shoes, twice, instead of the customary once, or thrice instead of the customary twice? Giving a holiday or two more than the neighboring "owners" give? Giving "passes" for a few miles' walk to see a sweetheart or a wife, more frequently or more readily than the neighboring owners? Are not these, and such as these, the sort of things claimed as "kindness"? As a particular favor to the witness in question, we will give Gen. Lee credit for as much considerate kindness as this. But it is not much to boast of; and it does not go far towards establishing the character of a gentleman and a Christian. Perhaps, considering the amount and importance of those rights which the "owner" of the 400 forcibly withholds from them, the word kindness is too strong to be applied in this case.

The silent personal observation of this witness, then, must go for nothing, since he shows a failure to appreciate what true kindness is. But perhaps he talked with some of the pieces of property in question. Perhaps he asked them whether they were happy and contented; whether they had a kind master; whether they did not prefer their present condition to the degraded position of the "free niggers" in the neighborhood.

If the mere casual visitor of the master, after dining at the great house, walks around the plantation and asks questions like these of the slaves he meets, he will of course get affirmative answers; how much more the master's kinsman, who is accustomed to make protracted visits to that master! These were the very questions that South-side Adams had the impudence to ask of the chattels of his dear Christian brother in Savannah. The answers were, of course, intensely affirmative, and profuse in laudatory adjectives; and one sagacious old piece of property had the wit to add, adjusting his voice and eyes into conformity with the face and the white cravat of his questioner—that he had no burden to complain of but his sins.

It is plain that answers like these, while the slave remains in the power of the master, cannot possibly be trustworthy. Even if one exceptionally stupid slave were really satisfied with his condition, you could not *know* it from his saying so under such circumstances, because his next neighbor, with feelings and wishes diametrically opposite, would say precisely the same thing. Nay, the more he was dissatisfied, and the nearer he had come to maturing a plan of escape, the more strongly he would express, to the friends and allies of his oppressor, the most perfect satisfaction with his servitude. Lies are to be expected, as a matter of course, from the slave to the pro-slavery inquirer, as well as from the master to the anti-slavery inquirer.

The sum of the matter then is, in regard to the witness we have been examining, that his *opinion* (however honestly entertained by himself) has neither reason nor probability to commend it to the acceptance of another person, and has not a feather's weight against the *evidence* contained in the soldier's letter.

A correspondent of the *Courier*, signing himself "CORDUROY," indulges the readers of that paper with nearly two columns of complaint against "inflammatory publications," referring particularly to the *Journal's* exposure above noticed, of the brutalizing effects of slavery.

He is indignant against the writer of the letter concerning General Lee's slaves, and desires particularly to know whether it is "in the capacity of cook, scullion, tract-distributor, or hanger-on of the Sanitary Committee," that said writer is connected with the Army of the Potomac.

He is still more indignant against the *Journal*, not only for the publication of this "inflammatory" article, but on account of the narratives of the burning alive of slaves by slaveholders, which it has occasionally quoted from Southern papers.

But the height of his indignation falls upon the head of "the Editor of a Boston evening newspaper," (the *Transcript*,) who "coolly" copies into his columns, in full, the narrative in the *Journal*, "deliberately" referring to the existence of the denial by General Lee's relative, and nevertheless credits the statement, and sends it abroad to be credited by others.

"The only apparent excuse for this act," CORDUROY proceeds to say, "is seen in the intimation that the story appears to have better evidence than its denial."

Just so. In this particular, CORDUROY hits the nail on the head.

The latest development in the matter above referred to appears in the *Journal* of the 22d instant, as follows:—

"GEN. LEE AGAIN.

FORT ALBANY, May 17, 1863.

To the Editor of the Boston Journal:

The extract which was recently published in your paper in regard to 'Gen. Lee and his Slaves,' though publicly denied, *is* correct. It was written by me in a private letter to my father, and from evidence gathered from many individuals, I deem it but just to myself to state that 'every essential particular' *is* true, the *opinion* of the gentleman contradicting it notwithstanding. The special case of flogging referred to *did* take place, as described, about three years ago, in a brick barn now occupied as a government stable. Gen. Lee frequently whipped the slave *children* with his own hand.

It is hardly probable that a visitor at Arlington could know all that was transpiring between master and slave.

It seems to me to hardly become a gentleman in my own community to deny statements notoriously true, on the ground simply that he never *saw* the acts perpetrated.

Respectfully, SAMUEL P. PUTNAM,
Co. K., 14th Mass. Vols."

This letter supplies the one circumstance previously deficient in the *Journal's* statement, the name and position of its informant. As facts illustrating the true character of slavery are sure to be denied by the Northern partisans of slaveholders, too much care cannot be taken in specifying places, dates and particulars, including the name and residence of witnesses, in all narratives upon that subject.—C. K. W.

CHURCH ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Fifth Annual Meeting of the Church Anti-Slavery Society was held at Tremont Temple on Tuesday evening, May 26th. Rev. Dr. Vaill of Palmer opened the meeting with prayer. The President, Rev. Mr. Webster, in a few introductory remarks, argued that this Society was doing for the Church a work of purification in reference to slavery like that which Luther and his co-laborers did for Christianity in the Reformation. Forcible addresses were made by Rev. Mr. Richardson, Gilbert Haven, and Dr. Cheever. In the judgment of the first speaker, what the church and ministry needed was good old-fashioned Nineveh repentance. As yet, General Butler was the only instance of thorough political repentance; and perhaps Dr. Sunderland of Washington came as near as any one to clerical repentance, when he made a clean breast last Fast day, for the first time, in his own pulpit. But the mourners' bench was not yet taken, as it would have to be by the ministry and churches in general, before we should get through with this war.

Mr. Haven argued that the vile prejudice against color, even in the church, was the foulest offence against our common Father; and he feared still that every other door in the nation would be open to the negro before the pew-door. The negro had borne straps on his back long enough; it was high time he should wear them on his shoulders.

Dr. Cheever could not take the rose-colored view of the progress of affairs which some did, and he gave a number of pungent reasons why. He read one of the late military Instructions for the army, which declares that the commander of an invading force may make such changes as he sees fit *in the relations of service due*, but the *permanence of such changes subject to the provisions of an ultimate treaty of peace.* His argument was one of great power and eloquence, followed by Frederick Douglass, declaring in a few words that, for twelve years, he had maintained the views of the Constitution advocated by the previous speaker. Senator Wilson being loudly called for, notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, said in reply to the severe though friendly criticisms made upon the government, that Abraham Lincoln would never take the back track. And if he did not, as far as in him lay, secure freedom to *all* the slaves of rebels whom his proclamation had justly set free, he would be accursed of Almighty God and the abhorrence of all good men. The meeting adjourned at a very late hour, after a collection for expenses, and singing by the choir of Rev. L. A. Grimes's church. the following Resolutions, offered by the Secretary, Rev. Henry T. Cheever, were unanimously adopted:—

I. Resolved, That in assembling again for the fifth time in Annual Meeting as the Church Anti-Slavery Society,—with our beloved country deep in the horrors of civil war, the dire penalty of slavery,—we deem it proper to reiterate our Christian testimony, that National Emancipation of the enslaved, because such National Emancipation is both just and constitutional, is the only evidence of national repentance of the iniquity of slaveholding which a righteous God can accept, and thereupon lift his scourge from the suffering nation. And we hold that the recent failure of wisely-planned and bravely-attempted military movements in Virginia, the day after the national fast, should be sufficient to convince our Government, if appalling proof had not been furnished before, that the Lord of hosts has a controversy with us, which will not be settled until, as a nation, we "loose the bands of wickedness, undo the heavy burdens, let the oppressed go free, and break every yoke."

II. Resolved, That this Society—expressing, as we believe it does, the Christian sense of the nation—while regretting it as a serious error that any rebel States or portions thereof should have been exempted from the beneficent operation of President Lincoln's Proclamation of the 1st of January, 1863, see great reason therein to praise God, and to congratulate the nation upon its rulers having been brought at length, through much tribulation, to the necessity of doing right, and of declaring the Act of Freedom to the slaves to be "AN ACT OF JUSTICE IN ITSELF, besides being warranted by the Constitution on grounds of military necessity."

III. Resolved, That the failure of the late Congress to pass a special enactment of Freedom, in order to carry out and establish the Edict of the President and to repeal the Fugitive Slave Law, was an oversight, the grave importance of which is becoming more and more apparent. Such an enactment by Congress, confirming the Edict of the President as the solemn and irrepealable act of the entire nation, would have withdrawn the Government from the further support of slavery, and would have foreclosed all discussion as to the status of the nation's Freedmen upon the restoration to the Union of the recent slaveholding States, by pledging the faith of the nation to the perpetual maintenance of their freedom.

IV. Resolved, That we now hail with warmest approval the organization of colored troops, North and South—a measure which was urged by Abolitionists at the commencement of the war, as being the speediest and cheapest way of ending it.

V. Resolved, That the show of an anti-slavery policy having been at length adopted by the Government, it only remains, in order to make it a reality, not a sham, and to secure by it the removal of the last vestige of slavery, that ANTI-SLAVERY MEN BE PUT IN OFFICE TO EXECUTE IT: and we believe it to be the sense of a very large majority of the unconditionally loyal of the nation, that Generals Butler, Fremont, Phelps and Sigel should be immediately put in active commands.

VI. Resolved, That in our judgment the Divine opportunity for the colored race in this country has come, and if we do but give them an open field, and a fair encounter, and let the colored soldier fight on equal terms with the white soldier, subject only to the ordinary usages of war, we believe that the colored race will soon vindicate itself, and that under God THIS NATION WILL HAVE TO ASCRIBE ITS SALVATION TO THEIR INSTRUMENTALITY.

VII. Resolved, That the enthusiastic and cheering outburst of sympathy from the common people of Great Britain, just so soon as there was put forth by the Executive of the United States the beginning of a policy for freedom, is what was to have been rationally expected from a free and Christian nation, which had long since ridden itself of the curse of slavery, and the prejudice against color; while the sympathy of English aristocrats and mammon-worshippers with the slaveholding oligarchy that has here risen in rebellion, sheds a new and instructive light upon the identity of despotism in the Old World and the New.

VIII. Resolved, That in the utter abolition of American slavery, now close at hand, it is evident there will be thrown upon the Christian people of this country a vast burden of responsibility and care for its unfortunate victims, and the manner in which our American churches shall now meet the demand of the nation's freedmen for permanent instruction, and for their present physical well-being, will determine whether or not our American Christianity be the Christianity of Christ.

IX. Resolved, That this Society urges upon all true abolitionists throughout the country, the common support of the New York *Principia* and its circulation through the army, as being, without any disparagement of older anti-slavery organs, the ablest newspaper exponent of the anti-slavery interpretation of our National Constitution, and of those essential principles of justice and freedom, by which alone, adopted as the policy of the nation, our National Government can be maintained, and the Union as it was meant to be, restored.

X. Resolved, That we warmly commend the American Missionary Association to all the churches, as the easiest and most economical channel for meeting the wants of the freedmen; and that the officers of that Society be encouraged to liberal plans and large undertakings in their behalf. [*Communicated.*

THE EMANCIPATION LEAGUE.

The first annual meeting of the Emancipation League was held in Tremont Temple, Monday afternoon, Hon. Samuel E. Sewall in the chair. The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. Mr. Grimes.

Mr. Sewall, in introducing the proceedings, explained that the object of the League was to abolish slavery throughout the United States, not only as an act of justice and humanity, but as a necessary measure to restore peace and harmony to the country, and concluded by declaring that "Congress should, without delay, pass an act that slavery shall be abolished, and never more be permitted to exist in the Union. All believe in the power of Congress to do this, and all believe that it should be exercised."

The first speaker was Rev. Robert Colly

BUSINESS MEETINGS OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, MAY 12.

The Society assembled, in Business Meeting, at the Vestry of the Church of the Puritans, at 3 o'clock, P. M.,—the President, Mr. GARRISON, in the chair.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr. was appointed Secretary *pro tem.*

On motion, the following were chosen a Committee to Nominate Officers of the Society for the coming year:—Edmund Quincy, of Massachusetts; Joseph Carpenter, of New York; Isaac Mendenhall, Abby Kimber, of Pennsylvania; Jennie K. Smith, of New York.

And the following a Committee of Business:—J. Miller McKim, of Philadelphia; Thomas Garrett, of Delaware; Joseph Post, Giles B. Stebbins, Susan B. Anthony, of New York; Robert Purvis, of Pennsylvania; Aaron M. Powell, of New York.

The Treasurer's Report was taken from the table, and accepted, and directed to be printed. [Inserted last week.] The Resolutions presented at the morning session were again read by Mr. Garrison.

J. M. MCKIM inquired into the meaning of the anticipation that the next annual meeting might be the last.

Mr. GARRISON replied that it was the expression of a hope more than of an expectation on his part.

Mr. GARRISON spoke of the attitude maintained so nobly by the working people and middle classes of Great Britain in regard to the present contest of our Government with the slaveholding rebels now arrayed in arms against it. He mentioned also with respect and thanks the name of John Bright and others, and especially of George Thompson.

HENRY C. WRIGHT inquired as to the Society's understanding of the Proclamation of January 1st, 1863, and explained his own interpretation of it, as given in numerous lectures in Pennsylvania and New York; viz., that it was a total and final emancipation of every slave in those States and parts of States not expressly excepted by President Lincoln in the Proclamation. To this interpretation, the response of the meeting was hearty and unanimous.

Rev. GEORGE TRASK, of Massachusetts, opposed the idea of a dissolution of this Society.

Mr. MCKIM read the following letter to the meeting from EDWARD M. DAVIS, of Philadelphia:

PHILADELPHIA, May 11th, 1863.

J. M. MCKIM:

DEAR FRIEND,—I long to be at the Annual Meeting, but cannot. Should any resolutions be presented looking toward the disbanding of our Society, give my vote and protest against it.

Our war is against the *spirit* of slavery, and against slavery *because it is* WRONG. We, therefore, cannot accept the Proclamation as the *fulfilment*, only the *dawning*. We must not be deluded with the idea that all hostility to slavery that is manifested is *real*, and of a kind that will stand, if the current should change. Very many are opposing it on the ground that, as a system, it is more extravagant than paid labor, and that it is interfering with *their* property and *their* rights. Let us help them to take the next step, and resolve to destroy it because it is *wrong*; because it is at war with the *rights of humanity*, and *therefore* CANNOT be economical and peaceful. Its *nature* is to be *wasteful* and *warlike*—that of Freedom, economical and peaceful. Give my vote for an unceasing and uncompromising war against the assumption that man can be held as property, and my earnest wish that the meeting may be in a state of mind to realize the enormity of any such claim.

Very truly, E. M. DAVIS.

Messrs. MCKIM, WRIGHT, and F. DOUGLASS spoke in opposition to the intimation of a possible dissolution of this Society, at any time likely to come soon.

W. L. GARRISON spoke in explanation of the Society's position in regard to the Constitution and its pro-slavery compromises. He declared his belief that there was no constitutional slavery in the country; that slavery, as an institution, being the cause of the rebellion, and having inaugurated the rebellion, had forfeited all claim to constitutional protection or legal existence.

EDMUND QUINCY, from the Committee on the Nomination of Officers, made a report, as follows:—

President.
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

Vice Presidents.

PETER LIBBY, Maine.	ROBERT PURVIS, Penn.
LUTHER MELENDY, N. H.	EDWARD M. DAVIS, "
JOHN M. HAWKS, "	THOMAS WHITSON, "
JERIEL CLAFLIN, "	JOSEPH MOORE, "
N. R. JOHNSTON, Vermont.	ROWLAND JOHNSON, N. J.
JAS. HUTCHINSON, Jr. "	ALFRED G. CAMPBELL, "
EDMUND QUINCY, Mass.	THOMAS GARRETT, Del.
BOURNE SPOONER, "	THOMAS DONALDSON, Ohio.
ASA FAIRBANKS, R. I.	MARIUS R. ROBINSON, "
JAMES B. WHITCOMB, Conn.	WILLIAM HEARN, Indiana.
SAMUEL J. MAY, Jr., N. Y.	WILLIAM HOPKINS, "
CORNELIUS BRAMHALL, "	JOSEPH MERRITT, Michigan.
AMY POST, "	CYRUS FULLER, "
PLINY SEXTON, "	THOMAS CHANDLER, "
LYDIA MOTT, "	CARVER TOMLINSON, Ill.
HENRY A. HARTT, "	CALEB GREEN, Minnesota.
LUCRETIA MOTT, Philadel'a.	GEORGIANA B. KIRBY, Cal.
GEORGE W. BENSON, Kansas.	

Corresponding Secretary.
CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, Plainfield, Ct.

Recording Secretary.
WENDELL PHILLIPS, Boston.

Treasurer.
WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH, Boston.

Executive Committee.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,	SAMUEL MAY, Jr.
EDMUND QUINCY,	WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH,
WENDELL PHILLIPS,	CHARLES K. WHIPPLE,
ANNE WARREN WESTON,	HENRY C. WRIGHT,
SYDNEY HOWARD GAY,	EDMUND JACKSON,
JOHN T. SARGENT.	

On motion, the report was adopted, and the persons named elected by a unanimous vote.

AARON M. POWELL urged renewed and vigilant action by this Society. He thought our labors should be redoubled—that they were needed, and would be abundantly repaid in the good results which would attend such labors.

Mr. DOWNING, of Newport, R. I., thought the Proclamation virtually admitted the constitutionality of slavery in certain States, by allowing its continuance there.

Mr. SPEAR made inquiry as to the grounds upon which Abolitionists voted in the last elections.

The debate was continued by Dr. SNODGRASS, Mr. FERGUSON, F. DOUGLASS, and others.

Adjourned to 10 A. M., Wednesday.

WEDNESDAY MORNING.

The meeting was called to order at 10½ o'clock, by THOMAS GARRETT, of Delaware, one of the Vice Presidents of the Society.

G. B. STEBBINS, from the Business Committee, introduced the following resolution:—

Resolved, That we rejoice in the assurance that the Proclamation of President Lincoln, issued Jan. 1st, 1863, incomplete as it may be in extent, pledges the faith of this nation, the power of this government, and the majesty of law, to the liberty of more than three million slaves, who are therein declared *forever free*: and that any violation of that faith, or perversion of the clear letter and spirit of that law, under any possible circumstances, would be perfidy and meanness unparalleled, inevitably fruitful of shame and disaster.

In support of this resolution, and of the doctrine that the act of secession in South Carolina and other States was a forfeiture of their right to protection from the Constitution in regard to slavery or any thing else, the Society was addressed by HENRY C. WRIGHT and SAMUEL MAY, Jr.

On motion, Aaron M. Powell, Phebe H. Jones and Catherine F. Stebbins were appointed a Finance Committee.

A. M. POWELL, from the Business Committee, reported the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That as, by the terms of the Constitution, it devolves upon Congress to provide for the common defence, and to promote the general welfare of the United States; that, believing, with John Quincy Adams, "from the instant the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, civil, servile or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with slavery in every way in which it can be interfered with, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of States, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power;" and as war now exists, "that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and slavery among the rest;" we hold it to be the imperative duty of the President to recommend, and of Congress to enact, that slavery shall be entirely abolished within the limits of Federal jurisdiction; that by act of rebellion, the seceded States have forfeited all claim to governmental recognition, or protection *as States*, and that, being again in the condition of unorganized territory, they shall be hereafter reorganized and admitted as States into the Union only upon the basis of impartial freedom, with the proviso of eternal prohibition of slavery.

Resolved, That we urgently direct the attention of President Lincoln to the importance of immediate confiscation, as far and as fast as is practicable, of all rebel lands, and all other rebel property, and the preëmption of homesteads in the rebel territory for all freedmen, and such as shall hereafter become free, for the brave, heroic soldiers of the Federal service, as their terms of enlistment expire, and for all truly loyal refugees from the South, who, risking everything for the Federal cause, have been driven into exile by the murderous uplifted arm of slavery.

Resolved, That we hail with rejoicing, as among the important fruits of the proclamation of January 1st, the increasing emancipation sentiment of the South, the growing disposition to recognize local governments upon the basis of free labor, as evidenced by loyalists in Nashville, New Orleans and elsewhere.

Resolved, That we welcome heartily, as coadjutors in our efforts for the overthrow of slavery, the many ministers and members of churches, hitherto in the great struggle indifferent to the cause of the oppressed, and now zealously advocating emancipation, but that the revival in the ministry and membership of the leading denominations needs yet to be intensified until no apologist for slavery, no treasonable "Copperhead" politicians, no recreant and impious Dr. Lords shall be shielded by the forms of Christian fellowship from the just and merited rebukes of true patriots and Christians.

J. M. MCKIM, Chairman of the Business Committee, reported the following resolution:—

Resolved, That in accordance with usage, and from reasons of obvious fitness, it is proper that the completion of another decade of the Society's existence should be marked by a special public meeting devoted to a general review and survey of the cause, and that therefore this Society, when it adjourns on this occasion, will adjourn to meet in the city of Philadelphia, on the 3d day of December next, then and there to celebrate, in an appropriate manner, the thirtieth—and we would fain hope the final—anniversary of its formation.

The question of finance and the use of the needed funds came up, and was spoken to by Messrs. GARRISON, MAY, JOHNSON and MCKIM.

O. JOHNSON, in his remarks, spoke of a plan for circulating the *Standard* in the army.

J. M. MCKIM urged the proposed plan of holding the third Decade Meeting at Philadelphia, in December next. He hoped that, at that time, this Society would be able to indicate some definite period for the extinction of slavery. There is anti-slavery progress in the people, and he had felt it his duty to join a National Union League, a Society with an anti-slavery provision in its Constitution, which justified his connection therewith so long as it is faithfully supported.

Mr. GARRISON replied with a statement of difficulties in the way of identifying ourselves with the government or its support, yet he felt for himself that he could consistently give it his support, if his anti-slavery objections were his only objections.

G. B. STEBBINS, of Rochester, N. Y., gave an interesting account of the state of things in the Northwestern States, and of the progress of anti-slavery principles there.

The PRESIDENT read an interesting letter from Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY, of Syracuse, N. Y., which it was voted to print with the proceedings. [See first page.]

The series of resolutions read at the public meeting on Tuesday morning were then unanimously adopted.

The resolution reported by Mr. STEBBINS was adopted unanimously.

The four resolutions reported by A. M. POWELL were adopted.

The resolution in relation to the celebration of the Society's thirtieth Anniversary was then adopted, after a few very interesting remarks from Mr. GARRISON, touching the small pecuniary influence and support which the Society has had during the whole thirty years' war with slavery. "Not by might, not by power"—not by the help of many rich or mighty—but by the truth and spirit of God himself, has the work been done. God and His government and laws have been magnified by every success of the Anti-Slavery cause, and His is all the glory.

Mr. A. H. LOVE paid an eloquent tribute to the high moral principle which had ever guided and controlled this Society's action, and hoped its useful and indispensable services would be continued long.

Voted, That the proceeds of Mr. Phillips's lecture on Monday evening last, when received into the treasury, be devoted to the gratuitous distribution of *The Standard* in the army.

Mr. Prince, of Connecticut, G. T. Downing, A. M. Powell, G. B. Stebbins, Mrs. Mary Ann Johnson, W. C. Nell, Joseph Carpenter and others addressed the meeting. The discussion related chiefly to the future duty and work of the Society.

Mr. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, reported the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That while the spirit and conduct of the governing classes in England, since the breaking out of "The Slaveholders' Rebellion" until now, have been manifestly in sympathy with that rebellion—conniving at the building and equipping, in their own ports, of piratical vessels to sweep American commerce from the ocean, in the rebel service, and in other ways evincing a purpose, so far as they dare, to provoke a war with this government, and give victory to the traitors who are seeking its destruction—we deem it due to the laboring classes of England in special, and to the people of that country in general, to express our heartfelt satisfaction and thankfulness in view of the very pregnant fact, that, in every part of the kingdom, in public meetings assembled, they have enthusiastically responded to the Emancipation proclamation of President Lincoln, and expressed their warmest sympathy with the loyal North, and their strongest abhorrence of the rebellion, its cause, and its objects; and we trust they will be able to exert such a moral influence upon their government as to compel it to keep international faith and amity, and thus avert a conflict, the sufferings and horrors of which must be immeasurable.

Resolved, That as the friends of liberty, of free institutions, and of universal emancipation, this Society tenders its grateful acknowledgments to such noble Englishmen as John Bright, Richard Cobden, Wm. E. Forster, George Thompson, J. Stuart Mill, Professor Newman, Professor Cairnes, Rev. Newman Hall, Gen. Perronet Thompson, and others, for their intelligent, discriminating, and powerful advocacy of the cause of American Republicanism as against the ruthless secessionists of the South; and especially to GEORGE THOMPSON, whose labors to serve our country, ever since the rebellion broke out, have been most indefatigable, disinterested, and efficient, in every part of the kingdom; and we trust it may be his blessed privilege and joy to see our country delivered from its great iniquity, and to join with us in celebrating the most glorious jubilee earth has ever witnessed.

These resolutions were adopted unanimously.

The Society then adjourned, to meet in Philadelphia, December 3d.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *President.*
SAMUEL MAY, Jr., Secretary *pro tem.*

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.

At the Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in the Cooper Institute, New York.

TUESDAY EVENING, May 21.

The subject which Mr. Tilton has introduced is certainly one most appropriate for the consideration of an Anti-Slavery anniversary,—the place which the negro has occupied, and which he is to occupy, in the civilization of the world. Every word that teaches the truth in that point is of importance to us. Still, in the broadest view of the question, taking into consideration not years but centuries, measuring by generations,—and that is always reasonable in judging nationalities,—I think races are of secondary importance. My own conviction is, that, in a historical point of view, a great deal too much importance has been given to this subject of races. For thus I read history. At the commencement, in the cradle of history, in the very northernmost portion of Asia, we are told there existed a race which was probably the parent of all science, out of whose scattered relics Egypt gathered enough to fill her cup to overflowing, and to furnish Greece. The second race that received that Siberian civilization was the Hindoo. Long before either African or European civilization commenced, his sword was the keenest, his brain the heaviest, his literature the most finished, his metaphysics the most acute; and Tocqueville tells us that every possible question that any one has yet unearthed was not only started, but exhausted in the era of Sanscrit literature. They had their Walter Scott a thousand years before Christ; their drama touched perfection eight hundred years before our era; and yet to-day men discuss whether the Hindoo possesses intellect and courage! Egypt seized the torch from the hand of Asia, and kept it alight for half a dozen centuries, carrying her conquests to the shores of the Indian and Atlantic oceans; and yet she has been the basest of nations for a thousand years. From the overflowing cup of Egyptian civilization, Greece filled her vase, and for three hundred years led the van of civilization for the world; and yet "the Greek, a slave and a liar," is the proverb of modern Europe. Rome clutched from Greece the half-extinguished torch, and bore it aloft until the shores of three continents grew bright in its blaze, and yet to-day the Italian rises, after spending centuries under the heel of petty despots, to hold his liberty by permission of those his ancestors called barbarians. Cicero said of the English, that they made the most excellent slaves, and yet to-day John Bull's pluck bullies half the world. How much is there in races when we measure them by centuries? Not much. The negro of old gained himself a place in history, and he may take it again. Who knows? But it is no business of ours. I despise an empire resting its claims on the blood of a single race. My pride in the future is in the banner that welcomes every race and every blood, and under whose shelter all races stand up equal. (Applause.) I hope the negro never will die out. God grant he may figure on the monuments of America a thousand years hence, a symbol of the breadth of our nationality! Col. Higginson says in one of his private letters, that he has been accustomed to a black regiment so long that a white face actually looks unhealthy to him. (Laughter and applause.) Why not? Mr. President, I have no respect for the civilization that treads softly when it crosses the limits of races. I consider our negrophobia disgraceful enough on Christian principles, and certainly contemptible when we measure it with the yardstick of civilization. I passed a day lately, with a Professor of a Parisian university, and he told me that side by side with him in college, when he was a boy, sat a full-blooded negro. When they came to their trials before the examining committees, one of whose verdicts exempted a man from all civil and many military burdens, the only man of the class that passed that ordeal was the negro, and to-day he is Professor of a Parisian university, above all the laws of conscription, and freed from one-half of the taxes, by virtue of his brains. Another of his own classmates, he said, passed one or two examinations, and held a commission of high rank in the French army—one-half of his blood unmistakably black. I honor French civilization. It welcomes genius. It measures a man by brains. It estimates a man by his manhood, and not by his color. I walked the streets of Paris at 5 o'clock of a Sunday afternoon, the most fashionable hour of the most fashionable day, and saw half a dozen couples, black and white, parading the Boulevard, and I was the only man uncivil enough to turn around and stare. I honor that civilization; it is noble and full of self-respect. Ours is but the pale reflection of the barbarous States of the South. It is barbarism and gross ignorance. God has sent us this struggle, in my view, to lift us out of it. I have no fear of colorphobia. Like all other prejudices, it is a coward. The moment you face it, it shrinks; it blusters while you yield, bullies if you are afraid, and retires the instant you make a firm stand. We have tried it in Massachusetts. In the first place men said, If you repeal the law that white men and colored women shall not marry, we shall have amalgamation throughout the Commonwealth. Half the legislators, for a dozen years, were afraid to act. Finally, after as many years as the Greeks spent in taking Troy, the statute was erased from the statute book, and nobody has heard of it since. The next trial we had was in regard to colored persons riding in the stages and railroad cars. Corporations made rules excluding negroes from the cars. After one or two trials, the public sentiment of the State was thoroughly aroused, and the tables of the legislature were piled with petitions. "Repeal that rule," cried negrophobia, "why, I'll quit the cars." Judging from the noise made, you would have supposed that if black and white sat side by side in a car, the locomotive would cease to run. But, putting his hand on the ominous pile of the petitions, a leading member of our State Senate said to the managers of the railroads, "Gentlemen, I advise you to repeal that by-law; for if the legislature acts, it may put a curb on you that you won't like,"—and before November every by-law ceased to exist, and nobody has heard of them since, or of any trouble from their absence. Col. Stevenson said he had rather be whipped with white men than conquer with black men;—and Gen. Hunter took away his sword. But when Adjutant General Thomas went to the southwest, he lifted his index finger, and pointing towards Washington, said, "The wind blows North there," and from Brigadier to Lieutenant every man closed his lips, and denied all prejudice against color. There will be no negrophobia the moment Government lets its will be unmistakably known—that is the chief reason why I blame our Massachusetts Senators for conferring on Col. Stevenson the honor of Brigadier Generalship just at the moment he defied and denounced the policy of the Government. Gross insubordination existed in General Hunter's department—arising out of this among other causes—the soldiers had inflicted terrible outrages on the negroes there; at the North we were appealing to the negro to enlist. At this crisis, Col. Stevenson, standing at Hunter's side, spits on the government's movement. It was a moment and an act which fixed the attention of the nation. One right, decisive word from the Senate, and no officer in the service would afterwards mistake the purpose of the administration. That word was, "Col. Stevenson, for your services and your apology we overlook your fault; but stay a Colonel till by faithful and hearty coöperation in the new movement you earn the nation's confidence—let every officer take warning by your fate." Instead of that, Massachusetts Senators reward the mutineer to conciliate Hunker treason. They must reform that altogether, if they expect trust in future. The great element of power in this country is the privilege of voting. Give the negro his rights in that respect, and there will be no trouble. I will give you an illustration: In Massachusetts—and Massachusetts, small as she is, is large enough for a sample—forty years ago, the Catholics objected to our Bible in the schools. They said, "We can't read your Protestant version." Protestantism, contemptuous in its sense of strength, looked at them over its spectacles, and said, "How do you expect to help yourselves?" So we went on twelve or fifteen years; and then they said, "Give us the privilege not to read your Bible." Couldn't think of it, says burly Protestantism. Still the Catholics increased, until out of a hundred and sixty-five thousand men, in Boston peninsula, nearly half were of foreign descent; and they said, "Now, gentlemen, shouldn't you be willing to change that version?" "Oh, certainly; it is but just, and right generous, dictated by the sacred law of toleration. There shall be a committee to choose out portions that neither has an objection to, or there shall be unlimited freedom to read no version at all." Thank democracy for that! All hail to the ballot box! How did the Irishmen surmount the prejudice inborn in the Yankee's bones, breathed in the very air of Plymouth, and embodied in every yellow grain of Indian corn? He conquered it at the ballot box. When the orthodox Protestant saw looming in the distance a Catholic *majority*, he took heed to his footsteps. How did he know but a Catholic majority, acting on the rule he had used, might not force Protestant boys to read the Douay version? He learned toleration from fear of his opponent. In other words, the moment a man becomes valuable or terrible to the politician, his rights will be respected. Give the negro a vote in his hand, and there is not a politician, from Abraham Lincoln down to the laziest loafer in the lowest ward in this city, who would not do him honor. As to this matter of race, friend Tilton, the politician would not known one from the other. Therefore give the negro his rights; give him his vote; put him on his political pedestal; give him a civil existence,—and I will risk races. Do you know a politician who dares to make a speech to-day, without a compliment to green Erin? Yet I can remember when no political speech was made without a slur upon that nation. But the politician now is careful what he says against a race which commands five hundred thousand votes. Thanks to the democracy, which does not put the negro under the protection of the white man, but gives to every class the means of protecting itself. (Applause.)

That is my future for the black man. I don't care for his race, whether it is first, second, or third. I don't care for his brains, whether they weigh much or little. He has brains to be responsible in the police and criminal courts of his country, and therefore he has brains enough to go to the ballot-box; and every politician will weigh his wishes, and acknowledge his equality the moment you give his right hand the means of conferring power. That is my future for the colored man, and it is to that I look in every prognostication of the future. Social rights are respected the moment a man shows his worthiness by character, ability and success. From the possession of political rights, a man gets means to clutch equal opportunities of education, and a fair space to work. Give a man his vote, you give him tools to work and arms to protect himself. The ballot is the true standing ground of Archimedes, planted on which a man can move his world.

It seems to me that God has given this lesson for us to learn. In the fifteenth century, Europe was taught nothing but nationality. Under the right hand of papacy, the nations gathered themselves into separate tribes, each in his own place. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we come to the religious movement; and Luther's name and Calvin's, mark both. In England, France, and Germany, the whole movement of the human mind was towards this truth, that there is nothing between the individual and his God. The eighteenth century finished another work. It said that all men are created free and equal. So said the French revolution, Citizens are equals. That point they gained. This generation has another work, which is to say, All races have equal rights. "God hath made of one blood all nations to serve Him on the face of the earth." That is the motto of this generation. It will take all our thirty years to learn it. I do not expect this nation can come out of its chrysalis state in less than a generation. We have to teach these Northern States to respect the negro, and until we do, there never will be peace. The South is not strong in herself. All her strength consists in our unwillingness to strike. Why this unwillingness to strike? Because we do not see John Hancock under a black skin; and until we do see him, we shall never wage an honest and utter battle. No man who does not grant to the negro his just place, is fit to be enlisted in the army of the Union, if that Union means liberty; or, if that is an exaggerated statement, certainly no man has a right to lead our army who does not carry that idea in his heart. (Applause.)

The beautiful song to which we have just listened says, Give the negro his rights—he asks nothing more. Nothing more? He does not ask that. He does not begin to ask so much. There is not the wealth in the nation to give him his rights. The whole nation on its knees could not give him his rights. Take a pellet of homœopathic dimensions, dissolve it in the Atlantic ocean, and you have more of its essence in any one drop, than you have of real justice in all the demands the abolitionists have made for the negro. We are not rich enough to give the negro his rights. For two hundred years he has redeemed twenty States from savagery and barbarism. Every house built upon its surface his labor constructed. Every dollar dug from the soil was got by the toil of the negro. "You paid my college bills," says the college graduate to his father's slaves. Agriculture, cities, roads, factories, funded capital—all were made by and belong to the negro. Yet what does he say to his master? "Take thy wealth and welcome; only lift thy foot from off my neck. Give me my wife and children, and keep what my fathers have earned for two hundred years." That is all he demands. And yet bigots and fools fear that if you grant this infinitessimal per centage, the whole phantasmagoria of our civilization will dissolve. I hate the term justice to the negro. There is not wealth enough in all the North to compensate even this generation—much less the claim it has as heir to those which have gone before. We welcomed to our platform, in Boston, Thomas Sims, the symbol of Boston infamy—the man that Protestant Christianity got down on its knees, and begged Savannah to accept. And yet, on that same platform, the night before, Gen. Hamilton, of Texas, speaking of Catholic, mongrel Mexico—one-third Indian, one-third Spanish, and the rest negro—said that the present Senators and Representatives of Texas acknowledged that they lost three slaves to Mexico, for the last ten years, to one which was lost to the North. And Union men say to them, "Why quarrel, then, with the North, and not with Mexico?" and they acknowledge that the pretence was gotten up to curb the North as representing democracy. Gen. Hamilton went on to say: "for five dollars you can hire the Mexican to murder his next-door neighbor; but all the gold in the southwest would not hire him to return a fugitive slave." Would that Mexico might send her mongrel negroes to Boston to teach us Christianity!

It was a proud night when Sims came back to Boston, and prouder still the tale he told us; for it showed us how far one little candle throws it rays. When he left Boston, there was a chain around our Court House, and the abolitionists were mobbed in the streets. When he got to Savannah, the abolitionists said he would be whipped to death; and the Southerner, just to prove the Boston abolitionists mistaken, concluded not to punish him at all. They sent him to be employed in building a Baptist institution. The workman said, "Are you that Boston boy?" "Yes." "Well, then, we don't want you." He went to Augusta, and they sent him away for the same reason. Then they placed him in New Orleans. Finding he could get no employ, they tried to sell him; and it became known that he was from Boston, and his price fell a thousand dollars. See what a Boston education is worth in the market of New Orleans! When the rebellion broke out, after waiting a few months, he gathered what information he could, and came to Gen. Grant's army. The General says that, "for valuable information received, I grant him his freedom." He had always intended to get back to Boston, but little thought he should reach it the moment he crossed the river at Vicksburg. But we have carried Boston down to Vicksburg within a year, and we must carry liberty with it. It is not slaveholders we fight, but it is the system—that system for which the South undertakes to battle, to kill democracy and plant an institution of caste. That system is our enemy, no matter whether on the banks of the Ohio, or on the banks of the Mississippi; and wherever the nation strikes, it must strike slavery, not slaveholders, and not only slavery in the Gulf States, but slavery in Tennessee and Kentucky. We adjourn this meeting, if we must adjourn, with the conviction that what we ask of the nation will soon be accomplished. Courage, then, my friends! The President has only to speak, and the nation obeys him. It will take us some time to accomplish our work. A nation is not born in a day. Civilization is not matured in a twelve month. We shall not be educated in a moment. Men say, "Do you think the negro is educated enough?" All I know is, that he is better educated than we are; for he can bear us, and we, in strict truth, are a great deal more abominable to him than he can be to us. As I used to say in old anti-slavery times, so we may say now: if he can only bear the white man, the white man ought easily to bear him. He has borne his part in our great national convulsions much better than we have. How sagacious has he been! He sees the light under every cloud; the truth under apparent contradiction. Butler let sixty slaves, that had struggled with cane-knives in the streets of New Orleans, be murdered when they reached its pavements. But the black believes in Butler, for all that. At one time the rebels murdered in cold blood thirty negroes, and Col. Hoyt, with John Brown's soul above, went down and broke up seven guerilla camps, and took forty-one lives to answer it. For Hoyt's sake, the negro believes in the Department of the southwest, in spite of its Major Generals. Adjutant General Thomas finds nothing but friends wherever he goes in the southwest. Stoneman and his men sat down for hours, while a slave woman gave him a meal and watched for him. She knew that her deliverer had come. What more beautiful emblem of the present than that boat stranded under the fire of the guerillas, with one of our choicest sons on board, hid in the hollow, and the negro saying, "Some one must die to push this off; it may as well be I"; and as he lifted himself to give the impulse, five bullets entered his body, and the martyr went to his God and ours. So all over the land, the negro lifts himself to the perilous post of duty, and says, "Why should it not be I?" The basis of a firmer union will be laid in the mutual respect of the sections begotten of this struggle; and the place of the negro will be secured for him when every mother whose son is at home alive, because negro courage occupies his place, and every man that loves the flag, and knows that it is safe because bathed in the blood of five hundred thousand sable defenders, will have no word of reproach then for the black race. (Cheers.) I hope another year will not finish before we meet here, our abolitionism lost in the universal joy, to rejoice that there is no chain on the continent; that there is nothing in the heart of the American which recognizes the distinction of races; but, like the sublime monuments of antiquity, record the triumph in which all tongues, all races, and all creeds, mingle their prayers and offerings to a common liberty and a common God! (Enthusiastic cheers.)

NATIONAL CONVENTION OF LOYAL WOMEN.

NEW YORK, May 16th, 1863.

DEAR MR. GARRISON,—There are ever compensations for the evils that we suffer. War which seems to me so unnatural and barbarous, yet brings its compensations and its results of good. I say it is unnatural, but it may be called natural, being governed by the "laws of disorder," and natural as it has ever, through the world's history, been the cure for oppression, and will be, until by slow degrees man reaches a higher development and a purer atmosphere. I felt how glorious a recompense may come to women in this time of trial, when I attended the adjourned "Meeting of Loyal Women," in this city, on Thursday, P. M., held in the lecture room of Dr. Cheever's church. At the morning session, you may know, there was some opposition to a resolution brought in by the committee, affirming that it is the duty of a *free* government to protect the liberties and recognize the rights of every individual, irrespective of color or sex; those opposing us claiming that we had dragged in an "ism," whereas we held that it was only a broad, philosophical statement of genuine democratic principles, which, as a body of women at such an hour, it was the most natural thing in the world for us to make, and, indeed, which the most of us feel would be a culpable omission not to lay down, as a part of the foundation of a *National* Loyal League. The adjourned meeting to which I refer was for business, and for some reason or other, the women felt a spirit of freedom that was delightfully refreshing. There was such a desire for the highest and most impartial liberty, such an earnestness and unity that the nation should be lifted out of every shade of oppression into the freedom of a true republic, that all hearts were opened, and many lips unsealed to speak eloquently for the victims of a sham republicanism, and against the restoration of that Union to which a soul truly loyal to justice can never be loyal. There was a spontaneous uprising of the woman-soul, helmeted with faith, and panoplied in endurance. I wish you might have witnessed it, for I consider it a result of the great Anti-Slavery movement, which yourself and coadjutors have been patiently carrying forward, till we see the auroral light of a coming salvation.

Women are being freed, being ennobled, are working out their own salvation, and aiding that of the slave, as one of the compensations of this war. I was unprepared to see *so many* in the audience take part in the discussions; unprepared for the readiness and eloquence with which old and young women, from various States, expressed their opinions, their emotions, and their patriotism; but more than all was I unprepared for the *unanimous vote* which was given to the resolution to sustain and be loyal to the Government, so long as it is true to freedom. Two or three inquired, why we could not pledge ourselves to unconditional loyalty, assuring us that in the event of the election of a President of the Vallandigham stamp, they should favor an instantaneous change of the platform; but some of us had seen the failure of politicians and so called statesmen, and preferred to make clean work from corner-stone to capital. Mrs. Stanton replied, that we did not wish to repeat the mistakes of the "fathers," therefore we would have no compromise with sin; thus hastening peace, and preventing the repetition of a war for slavery. Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony nobly upheld the old Anti-Slavery banner, bearing on its folds, "No Concealment, No Compromise." There was very much to cheer us in its hearty acceptance by this large gathering of women.

Ever yours, for Universal Freedom,
CATHARINE A. F. STEBBINS.

THE CONTINENTAL MONTHLY, for June, 1863, is received, and presents the following table of contents:

1. The Value of the Union, by William H. Muller. 2. A Merchant's Story, by Edmund Kirke. 3. May Morning. 4. The Navy of the United States. 5. Three Modern Romances. 6. Mill on Liberty, by Hon. E. P. Stanton. 7. Cloud and Sunshine. 8. Is there anything in It? 9. The Confederation and the Nation, by Edward Carey. 10. Reason, Rhyme and Rhythm, by Mrs. Martha Walker Cook. 11. The Buccaneers of America, by William L. Stone. 12. Virginia. 13. Visit to the National Academy. 14. Was He Successful? by Richard B. Kimball. 15. How Mr. Lincoln became an Abolitionist, by S. B. Gookins. 16. Cost of a trip to Europe, and how to go Cheaply. 17. Touching the Soul, by Edgar Phelps. 1st Lieutenant 19th Infantry, U. S. A. 18. Literary Notices. 19. Editor's Table.

The July number of the *Continental* will contain articles by the Hon. Robert J. Walker, written from England.

All communications, whether concerning MSS., or on business, should be addressed to JOHN F. TROW, Publisher, 50 Greene street, New York.

DEATH OF A LAWYER. Granville Phillips, Esq, died at the residence of his brother, George W. Phillips, Esq., at Saugus, Monday night, of heart disease. He was formerly a lawyer in this city, but until recently resided several years in Paris. He was 47 years old, and was a brother to Wendell Phillips.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

I have received, in aid of the 54th Regt. Mass. Vols., not heretofore acknowledged, the following sums, viz:

A friend, $50; W. Endicott, Jr., 50; J. A. Dresser, 25; J. B. Congdon, 2; Mrs. Jarvis, 2; Wm. Dall, 20; John G. Webster, 20; B. G. Kimball, 5; Tuto, Brackett & Co., 10; C. C. Childs, 5; J. B. Whitmore, 5; R. E. Apthorp, 5; J. French, 2,50. Also, from Mrs. S. Johnson, 15 pr. socks; Miss Chapman, needle cases and 4 pr. socks; Palmer & Batchelder, 2 gross army buttons; C. O. Whitmore & Sons, 1 bbl. Syrup; Mrs. Wellington, chints and buttons; West Church, by Mrs. Bartol, towels and hdkfs; Fraternity Sewing Circle, 100 needle cases, 273 pin-balls; Mrs. and Miss Bradford, 100 needle cases; Mrs. George Cheney, 10 needle cases; West Roxbury Schools, by Mrs. Cowing, pin-balls, needle-cases, and sewing materials; J. A. Howard, 2 gross buttons; Mrs. Barstow, 3 pr. socks; Miss Henrietta Sargent, 4 doz. hdkfs.; Miss McFarland, 2 doz. towels, 3 pr. socks; Mrs. W. P. Atkinson, 2 doz. towels; a friend, 6 pr. socks; Miss Henrietta Sargent, 18 ration bags.

Special Contributions for Band.—Francis Geo. Shaw, $170; J. Huntington Walcott, 50; Sam'l G. Ward, 245.

J. H. STEPHENSON, Treasurer,
For the Committee.

12 Arch Street, May 23, 1863.

YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.

The Religious Society of Progressive Friends will hold its Eleventh Yearly Meeting at Longwood, Chester County, Pa., commencing on Fifth-day (Thursday), the 4th of Sixth month (June), 1863, at 10 o'clock, A. M., and continuing two or three days.

☞ CATHOLIC CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, Mercantile Building, 16 Summer Street, Hall No. 4. Rev. L. A. SAWYER, Translator of the Scriptures, will preach next Sabbath, at half past 10 o'clock, A. M. Subject—On the Gospel according to Mark, its date, authorship, historical character, and relations to Christianity;—and the necessity of more thorough methods of interpretation than have heretofore been generally adopted.

☞ REV. L. BILLINGS, (Lt. Col. of the First South Carolina Volunteers,) will preach for the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society, at the Melodeon, on Sunday forenoon next, upon "The Afric-American Soldier."

☞ G. B. STEBBINS, of Rochester, N. Y., will speak at Portland, Me., Sunday, May 31st.

☞ WM. LLOYD GARRISON will lecture in Lowell, forenoon and afternoon, on Sunday next, May 31.

☞ E. H. HEYWOOD will speak in West Newton, Sunday, May 31, at half-past 2, P. M.; and in Grantville, same day, at 5 o'clock, P. M.

☞ MARLBORO' AND FELTONVILLE.—WM. WELLS BROWN will speak on "The War and the Blacks Under Arms," as follows:—

At Marlboro', Sunday, May 31, at 3 o'clock.
Feltonville, " " at 7 1-2 o'clock.

☞ AGENTS WANTED in every county in the Free States for the sale of Wendell Phillips's Speeches and Lectures. Large commissions allowed. The book will be issued June 15. Price $2. Sent by mail on receipt of retail price. Address JAMES REDPATH, 221 Washington st., Boston.

MARRIED—In this city, May 6, by Rev. L. A. Grimes, Mr. Geo. Teamoh to Mrs. Elizabeth Smith.

May 21, by Rev. Mr. Simpson, Mr. Thomas P. Taylor to Miss Julianna T. Scott.

EDWARD M. DAVIS,
STOCK & EXCHANGE BROKER,
No. 39 SOUTH THIRD STREET,
(SECOND FLOOR,) PHILADELPHIA, PA.

I HAVE this day opened an office for the transaction of a general EXCHANGE and BANKING BUSINESS, and the sale of Bonds and

Poetry.

For the Liberator.

THE PROCLAMATION.

All through the town 'twas buzzed, and you might read
In many eyes how the Immortal Deed
Appealed to Truth's eternal power o'er men,
And called from each true heart a deep Amen!
And you might see, crest-fallen and cast down,
Belial's children wear a threatening frown,
As if they almost (had they power) would dare
Scale God's high throne, and plant dark Slavery there.
A secret fear of these checked the display
Of public joy on that auspicious day;
For this fair town, in past and present hour,
Hath been a stronghold of the demon's power.
But there was one, who, generous spirit! rose,
Too full for this mute fear of Freedom's foes,
And from his mansion the still city sees
A glorious Banner greet the western breeze.
Though Swan his musical and gentle name,
He might strong kindred with the eagle claim;
For, brave above the list, far soaring,
And Freedom's rising openly adoring.
I saw, and as the sight my spirit fired,
These were the thoughts that noble flag inspired:—

TO THE FLAG.

All hail, thou lone and glorious Flag!
Liberty finds a voice in thee!
And soon from every rocky crag
That girds this Island of the Sea,
From every house, from every heart
Of all the dwellers on this land
Which once was Slavery's guilty mart,
Shall come an echo, full and grand,
To thy proud motto! Thou shalt be
Linked in high memory with the day
That broke th' accursed chain away,
And made the slave forever free!
And he, who, braver than the crowd,
Free as the breeze that greets the fold
Of his rich banner, speaks aloud,
Through thee, God's word "serenely bold";
He, whose Abdiel-spirit scorned
Silent to let that sun go down,
Shall be remembered as the one
Brave son of that renowned old town,
Whose solitary banner's sway
Bore witness to the brightest day
Earth's gazing millions e'er have known—
The day when Slavery passed away,
And Freedom's Star unclouded shone.

Newport, R. I. S. L. LITTLE.

From the New York Independent.

THE END.

BY GEORGE W. PUTNAM.

We saw the unutterable wrong,
The crushing of the poor and weak;
Our voices joined the piercing shriek
Which rent the heavens: "O God! how long?"

Not like our own His life sublime,
The awful cycles come and go;
For Him there is no fast, no slow,
He keepeth no account with Time.

He is not hurried with our calls,
Calm in His majesty He stands,
The scales of Trial in his hands,
And when proud Crime is ripe—it falls!

O, say not Retribution lags!
His drums are beating down the vale,
His banners waving in the gale,
His beacons flashing from the crags!

His thunder-step is heard along
The cloud-peaks of the battle-storm,
And through its rifts is seen His form,
Who lifts the weak, and treads the strong.

And broken lies Oppression's rod
When leap forth from His mighty hand
The bolts of JUSTICE, stern and grand,
Without which there could be no God.

Broadcast they sowed the seeds of Sin,
To-day the tyrants howl and weep,
While swift the crimsoned sickles reap
The sad and gory harvest in.

Behold! the city's street is red!
The Tyrants' blood is on the stones,
The air is heavy with their moans,
For every household wails its dead.

Passing away are homes and lands
From that unwise and haughty race
Who thrust their fists into His face,
And spat upon His good commands.

But up the blue comes Freedom's star,
And, hark!—the broken-hearted sing!
While high the Northern bugles ring,
And Northern cannon thunder far!

Amen! the World is for the Free:
Amen! the Earth is for the Just:
Crushed be Oppression to the dust!
And LIVE FOREVER, LIBERTY!

From the Boston Christian Register.

A SPRING THOUGHT.

Not yet, O tardy Spring,
Save in the singing of some wandering bird,
Doth thy bright presence o'er our spirits fling
The charm by which their inmost depths are stirred.

We speak thy pleasant name
In tones where love and hope breathe sweet accord;
We summon thee with wild and glad acclaim
To spread beneath our feet the fresh green sward.

Thy step upon the hills
We cannot trace; and in the leafless wood
No early blossoms from its heart distils
Incense to hallow earth's deep solitude.

Impatient heart, be still!
The times and seasons are best known to Him
Who by the effort of His sovereign will
Creates, or bids his ancient work grow dim.

We know they shall not fail,
Spring-time and harvest, and the summer heat;
And the soft falling rain and fostering gale,
All in their season shall earth's dwellers greet.

Therefore, O gentle Spring,
Renewing faded hopes with opening flowers,
We will await thee as some holy thing,
Commissioned with new zest to crown life's hours.

From the Boston Cultivator.

MAY.

Oh, sweetest month in all the year!
There's none to me one half so dear;
For none the heart with hope can cheer,
Like young and joyous May!

She comes to crown departing Spring;
Her voice awakes each living thing,
And songs arise from all that sing,
To welcome tuneful May!

How green the slope of yonder hill!
How pure and deep the purling rill!
How loud the birds their wood-notes trill,
To welcome merry May!

She brings the sweetest, fairest flower,
That springs in young Aurora's bower:
What youthful heart ne'er felt its power
At dawn of blooming May?

A. BREWSTER.

GOING HOME.

Shorter the life by every breath;
One day disease, and one day death;
Ever the falling shades of night;
Ever the open grave in sight.

Nearer the port by every wave;
Be strong, my soul! my heart, be brave!
Theirs is the gain who suffer loss,
Theirs is the crown who bear the cross.

The Liberator.

THE CONNECTICUT AND SHENANDOAH.
A TALE OF TO-DAY.

CHAPTER XV.

"CONTRABANDS."

"Harry! Harry!" called, in an explosive whisper, a female voice, at the head of the pallet on which, in the loft of an out-building, the exhausted field-hand lay; exhausted by pain from the lash as well as labor in the field. "Harry! *dear* Harry! speak to me. It is Huldah." A sob mingled with the last call, and half stifled it; but one affectionate sister-hand was passed gently and caressingly over the brow, while the other pressed upon the mouth of the moaning sleeper, lest, waking suddenly, he should utter a cry that would rouse unwelcome listeners. "Harry!" She bent low in the darkness, and thrilled it through the sense to the consciousness. He stirred, moaned, and clasped within his the hand that lay upon his mouth. "What is it, Huldah?"—in a whisper so full of pain!

"O, dear, *dear* Harry, can you listen to me, or do you suffer too much?" sobbed the distressed girl, in the tumult of deep feeling and eager thought.

"What is it, Huldah? But first, are you not running risks in being here? O, leave me, leave me, dear sister, *to die!*"

"Harry, you will break my heart if you talk so;"—and the agonized sister stifled, for an instant, her grief in her garments, lest it should be overheard. It was but for an instant—time was precious. "No, darling, I run no risks. Sylvia knows I am here, and promised to give me a signal if there was danger. I told her I *must* see you before I tried to sleep, after—after that—after that dreadful—O, Harry!" sobs obstructed her utterance, and again she buried her face in her garments.

"Don't cry so, Huldah—you'll break *my* heart. It was hard to bear—for the mind worse than the body; but I shall live through it, dear; live to"——She felt his hands clench into knotted fists, and heard his teeth grind in completion of the sentence. His last word seemed to suggest her message, and she rallied.

"Yes, my noble, suffering brother, you *will* live to find your way out of this, I am sure. Listen to me, Harry"—and she lowered her voice still more, yet gave to each word such force of articulation, through feeling, that not one was lost on her listener. "Belmaine had a party of planters to dine; they have all gone to a great gathering in Prince William's County; he will not be back till toward morning, Sylvia says. O, Harry, the planters are all so frightened! I heard every word of their talk at dinner—you know how. Gen. Butler, at Fortress Monroe, has decided that slaves are *contraband of war*—that was what they said; that slaves, like other property of the *rebels*—that is what the Yankees call the seceders, you know; capital, is n't it?—that slaves are to be *confiscated*, like other property. Wherever the Yankee soldiers, as they call them, make conquests, the slaves will be taken by them for Government use, just as the other property is. Some of the planters thought this couldn't be lawfully done; but Belmaine said it was all right according to the rules of war; and you know, Harry, he sees through things very clearly. I found they all referred to him when any difficult question arose.

"One gentleman said, of course it was sanctioned by the rules of war—that it was just what the slave-holders would do under the same circumstances; but he didn't believe the Lincolnites would have spunk enough to carry it into effect. Butler was a Democrat—of the party that had always sided with the South—and that accounted for his having courage to do a decided thing. It was perfectly ridiculous and highly amusing, he said, to see how afraid, even now, the Republican dough-faces, mud-sills and rail-splitters were of offending the chivalry. And then there was such a roar of laughter while they filled their glasses again, and drank to the success of the only rightful rulers of the land—the aristocracy, and Jeff. Davis, the head of all.

"When the uproar had ceased a little, Belmaine told them it was never wise to underrate an enemy; that it was better, always, to take his strength for granted, and prepare accordingly. He *knew* all Republicans were not dough-faces; he had seen and talked with men and women in Massachusetts as brave as any of the chivalry. Then he mentioned, in particular, a lady and gentleman who had been instrumental in effecting Adela's escape; and he spoke of Mr. Berkeley in the same way, and said if he, Belmaine, hadn't been more than omnipresent in his watchfulness, Mr. Berkeley would have had possession of you and me, Harry, months ago. Think of it, darling! This accounts for his terrible strictness and severity. No wonder the poor, ignorant slaves dread any effort to liberate them: for, if it fails, it only makes their present suffering so much greater. Belmaine brought his fist to the table with a force that made his companions start and all the glasses tremble, and swore a horrible oath that Berkeley never should have those two white slaves alive—he would kill us with his own hands first."

Huldah covered her face with her hands, and shuddered as she said this. Harry again clenched his fists and ground his teeth. Then suddenly sitting erect, regardless of wounds and pain, his eye flashing until it almost lighted the dark loft—

"Huldah! no one shall *give* freedom to you or me; I will *fight* for it. If what you say is true about Gen. Butler's order, it is a first step only; the next will be using the slaves for labor; the next, arming them. O, my dear sister, what a glorious day will that be when I can put my manhood to the test by meeting face to face, in open battle array, this tyrant, adulterer, would-be assassin, who calls himself our master! O, God! Grant me the privilege of striking one blow in thy cause before I die." He fell back on his pallet exhausted, still clasping firmly his sister's hand. After a pause of a moment—"Tell me the rest, Huldah," he murmured.

"One gentleman remarked that this intelligence must be kept from the slaves. Alexandria was now in possession of the Lincoln forces—they could push forward as fast as they dared, and the slaves would be flocking to their lines for protection.

"But they won't find it, sir," remarked the planter that had laughed about the dough-faces. "You must remember that McClellan commands, virtually, in the army of the Potomac. No better thing for our cause could be done than by making him a Major-General at that post. His sympathies are wholly with slavery and the South, and he will play into our hands more effectually than he possibly could in the subordinate position he would hold on our side. *We* do not think he is the material out of which a Major-General should be made, you know." And then they laughed again as before.

"Then you think the slaves will be returned?" some one said, and turned and asked Mr. Belmaine his opinion. I think I remember every word of his answer, it impressed me so much. It was this:—

"If the Lincoln government have the courage to use all their war power, under the Constitution, our case is entirely hopeless. Let them once inaugurate a decided emancipation policy, *and act upon it*, and the two great Western Powers of Europe at once become their allies; while, at the same time, the loss of our laboring population, which must inevitably follow, will reduce our effective force fatally, and give them a million competent hands to work in trenches and marshes—a department of service which will decimate their Northern ranks more effectually than bayonet or bullet. This I supposed would be done; and it was on this ground I opposed our Southern movement so obstinately. The result, thus far, shows that Mr. Davis and his immediate advisers understood probabilities better than I. This measure will come finally, however, if time is given them. Our hope lies in desperate daring and speed while the time is ours. We know what we fight for. It is *Slavery*. If they do not fight *against* it, they do not know what they fight for; for that is the great issue in camp and field, as it has been in Cabinet and Congress, the last fifty years—thirty years is entirely within bounds. Vague, uncertain ideas about *causes* will naturally produce vague and uncertain action; and just there, with their almost fabulous resources, will be their fallible point—*want of a policy*. Slaves returned? Of course they will be. There's not a Federal General in the field, yet, except Butler, and some of those hard-headed, tough-backed Germans, who will not return them as fast as they approach the lines, although there may be a few abolition subordinates who will smuggle them through, and get them Northward. John C. Fremont I should dread as I should a thunderbolt from heaven, if he should take the field. All is, we must work while the enemy are at such advantage for us."

Harry had tossed with varied emotions, quite forgetful of physical pain, during his sister's recital. When she had finished, he again sat erect.

"Huldah, do you not think it is better to die than live as we do?" His voice sounded strange and startling.

"Certainly, Harry, I have long thought so; but have we the *right?*"

"The same right that the soldiers have. They peril their lives for their families, their homes, their country. You and I have no kindred that will own us or can help us; no home, no country; nothing but ourselves. No, no! we have no right to ourselves. We are beasts of burden—to be tasked, driven, lashed, sold, killed, at the will of an owner. Look at these hands"—extending them in the darkness toward his sobbing sister—"the brand of that cursed claim of ownership burned into the white flesh! That black LIE must I bear about with me until I die, except I cut off the defaced and defiled member. Is not my body at this moment maimed, bleeding, sore, from his violence—his on me! whose skin is so much whiter than his soul—whose free mind, equal in all things with his own, suffers far more than the striped and bruised body—"

"O, Harry, dear Harry! I shall die to hear you talk so—and to think"—Huidah's sobs of anguish almost shook the shattered building they were in.

"Nay, nay, forgive me, darling," her brother said, caressingly. "I would bear a thousand fold more in the same cause, and glory in it. I know by this that I am a MAN, and far, far superior to him. Huldah, if I am ever witness to the same insult offered you again, I will kill him on the spot. I should have done it, then, but I remembered that I had a duty to you. What else can I do? There is no law that will take our part. Nothing is left for me but physical force—the final resort of nations to obtain their freedom, why not of individuals who have no other appeal from unwarrantable oppression and injustice? Hear me, Huldah, and consider well"—he dropped his voice to the lowest whisper. "We will try to reach Butler, at Fortress Monroe. The Army of the Potomac is nearer, but, with its present leader, it is not the Army of Freedom. I did not need to hear what you have told me to know that, but what you have told me confirms it. We may die in the attempt—it will not be suicide any more than other battles for principle are. Do you feel equal to the undertaking, with all its toils and risks? Will you follow me, my sister, wherever I lead, for Freedom, although it lead to *death?*" His hand groped in the darkness for hers, which was placed promptly and firmly in his.

"Harry, I will tread, unfaltering, any path you choose—Slavery, or blessed Liberty, death or life—I will never quit your side. Let us ask God to bless this pledge."

She knelt beside him there—him, who so many times had suffered for her sake, but never before so cruelly as now. She raised his scarred hands in hers, then pressed them on her heart, while from that heart poured forth a prayer of thanksgiving and supplication such as penetrates the very ear of God. Ah, Benjamin F. Butler, sweet should have been your sleep that night; for your name was inwoven with that prayer, and thus wafted into the arches of immortality on the wings of blessing. Glorious distinction! How many of the historic names of this test-era shall be written where that is recorded? Ponder this, ye who will not see! Ponder it, ye, who, once seeing with the eagle's vision, have suffered the films to gather for a season!

"Thanks, thanks, my precious sister; now I can sleep. Hasten back to the mansion before we are missed. Be prepared for the most sudden movement my strength permits. Be prepared at a whisper or signal to follow me."

"Be sure of it, my own brother." She smoothed, as well as she could, his rough pallet; placed his head in the most comfortable position; administering for the second time an anodyne she had brought concealed in her dress; pressed her lips to brow, and cheek, and lips, then crept out stealthily as she had entered.

The events indicated, rather than described, in this chapter, give an idea of the life of this brother and sister since the failure of Belmaine to recover their older sister. Emphatically it may be said he kept them for torture. He would have adopted another mode of vengeance—sold them apart, on to widely distant plantations where he knew the exactions were severe. But the determined and ubiquitous Berkeley would be sure to find them out, and possess himself of them, at whatever cost, he also knew. No, infinitely as he hated them, they were never permitted from his sight for a longer period than twenty-four hours; thus illustrating the reflex action of evil.

How would the tender heart of Adela been pierced through and through with anguish, had she known the precise condition of these so dear to her—so constantly in her thoughts and prayers, and for whom she had toiled until she dropped at the task! But this was mercifully withheld. She only knew they were still on the plantation where they were born, and that Hugh Berkeley's life seemed divided between solicitude for her, and efforts to get possession of them. Like every heroic soul, she panted to lend some helping hand in the great strife just manifesting itself externally; its mission was clear to her, and she thanked God that his judgments, with their saving power, were no longer delayed. Yes, now she was certain of again folding that faithful, noble brother in her arms, certain of again looking on the face of a sister; certain that home and country should yet be for them and for the injured race their destiny represented. More than medicine, more than nursing-care, more than blessed reciprocal love, even, this assurance tended to vitalize her wasted powers. At each visit of her rejoicing friend, she startled him into a sweet surprise with some new beauty or brilliancy, until, at times, the dark forebodings would stalk into his musings. "This is too beautiful for such a world—is it premonitory transfiguration? Will she die just when I find her wholly mine?"

But has not Hugh Berkeley a mission in the war?

REV. DR. CHEEVER
ON THE INSPIRATION AND INFALLIBILITY OF THE SCRIPTURES. No. II.

CRITIQUE BY REV. L. A. SAWYER.

Dr. Cheever infers the inspiration and perfect truth of the Scriptures from the question of Christ reported Mark 12:24—"Do you not err because you know not the Scriptures?" and from other reported words of Christ. We have shown that his testimony is not admissible, because it is not authenticated nor certified. It needs to be proved equally with the proposition which it is adduced to prove. There is a singular sophistry in this argument, that ought not to have escaped the notice of Dr. Cheever. The question of the infallibility of the sacred books is proposed to be settled by the following syllogism:—

1. [All books that say they are infallible are infallible,] implied.
2. The sacred books say they are infallible by Jesus Christ and others.
3. Therefore the sacred books are infallible.

It makes no difference by whom this saying is put forth; it is part and parcel of the matter to be proved infallible. It may be put in another form:—

1. That part of these books relating to the words of Christ and others is infallible.
2. The words of Christ and others imply the infallibility of all the sacred books.
3. Therefore all the sacred books are infallible.

This syllogism begs a part of the question by which to prove the rest. This we cannot concede, and as as an honest reasoner, Dr. Cheever cannot ask it; no question can be begged with safety.

Dr. Cheever speaks with great confidence, but with all his apparent confidence, he does not appear quite satisfied with his conclusions, and does not leave the case to be judged without an additional argument. He claims to have proved the infallibility of the Scriptures by the argument above analyzed and condemned: will he now reinforce his conclusion with an argument that is sound? Let us see. "The attestation of miracles. Miracles are necessary to obtain the belief of men in the divine authority of a messenger." This does not relate to books, but messengers, whom the books describe. It stands, therefore, in no direct relation to the infallibility of the books. These messengers were not generally the authors of the books that describe their doings. If they had been inspired and infallible, that would not make the writers who describe them and relate their doings, either inspired or infallible. The reality of the miracles depends on the interpretation of the books; if the same principles are applied to the interpretation of the New Testament as to the books of other nations and other religious communities, we find no miracles but such as either are fictitious, or else resolvable into events conformable to the laws of the Creator. Perhaps it is not right to call this part of Dr. Cheever's sermon a reinforcement of his previous positions. It seems rather to be a defence against objections to his conclusion, from the fictitious character of the Scripture miracles. He anticipates and meets these objections by asserting, as above, that the Scripture miracles were necessary to obtain the belief of men in the divine authority of a messenger. Very well; but suppose God did not choose to employ any infallible messenger, what then? We have no *a priori* objections to miracles; we are bred in the midst of them, and have them for familiar acquaintances; we look back through the ages, and find them extremely ancient. We note the time in the history of the earth when its surface exhibited a blaze of heat and light, like the sun; we see recorded in its annals the miracle of the subsidence of its fires, and the formation of a crust of granite, on which all its other superstructures are built. Other miracles follow, not less stupendous, resulting in the present order of things. Concerning these miracles, there is no mistake, there can be none. We find miracles in the plants of the earth, and in its animals; and last, but not least, in ourselves and fellow-men. We recognize them as evincing the hand of God and revealing him. We regard them as revelations, not the seals of a revelation; and whatever in history or story we find of the kind, we accept as of the same character. But numerous and magnificent as the real wonders of the Creator are, we are admonished by the voice of ages to be cautious in the admission of wonders, and cannot accept fiction for fact. The Scripture miracles must be judged by evidence; they are not conformable to the known laws of the Creator, and can neither be reproduced nor verified, like works of art, nor predicted like operations of God in nature; they are contingent events, that follow no known laws. Whether real or fictitious, they are all the same to us; they belong to the dead past, and can never be recovered. If they exist at all as realities, they exist as exceptional operations of the Almighty, which he is not pleased to repeat in our times, and may never repeat more. Instead of being in themselves like the revolutions of the earth around the sun, exhibitions of the eternal laws of the Creator, they are contradictions of those laws.

Dr. Cheever rests the reality of miracles on their necessity. This is virtually to suspend them on his own judgment, which, like all human judgments, is an extremely sandy foundation. Their necessity is required to be proved as much as their reality.—Their necessity to authenticate infallible documents cannot be accepted as meeting the demands of this question, for two reasons: first, it needs to be proved; and, second, not only the necessity but the existence of such documents is the very subject in question. This argument is therefore fallacious.

It is common to consider all arguments against the infallibility of the Scriptures as against the Scriptures themselves. We beg leave to protest against the disingenuousness and falsehood of this method. This argument is not *against* the Scriptures, but *for* them. The writer receives the Scriptures with all respect, and endeavors to extract from them their highest and deepest lessons, and all that they are capable of teaching. It is not his aim to make them say as little as possible, but to make them say as much as possible, and to give every word a tongue and untrammelled utterance. But he is not willing to make them his God, and put them in the place of the Eternal; nor is he willing to see Dr. Cheever devote his great abilities to prop up the falling columns of this colossal error. Dr. Cheever is not equal to the task he has assumed; he is strong in the cause of truth, but against it his words are tow and his battle-axe a straw. Truth may be long baffled and discredited, it may be long traduced and denied, but all its conflicts end in victory.

The Scriptures that we have are man-given and man-made, and bear marks of the erring hands through which they pass. The men who copied them, ages ago, made mistakes, and the printers who print them now, make mistakes. The Scriptures of Christ's time had mistakes and errors, some of which appear in the quotations in the New Testament. God gives us no certificate of the absolute correctness of the Scriptures, and gave the people of Christ's time none. To make Christ assert the absolute correctness of the Scriptures in his time, is to make him both contradict himself, and deny facts. In the Sermon on the Mount, he set aside laws of the Old Testament as wrong, and proposed improved methods. Matt. 5: 31, 32; 38, 42. In Mark 7:1-22, he discredits the Jewish system of external purifications. His system silently superseded and displaced Judaism as imperfect, and never the best possible system.

Predictions are attributed to Christ that have not been fulfilled, though the time for their accomplishment has long since passed by. Mark 13:24-31; Matt. 24:29-35. Palpable discrepancies occasionally appear, both in the Old Testament and New, as if God intended the imperfect character of the books to be forced on our attention.

It is not for the interest of piety to obscure or deny the truth in regard to the imperfect character of the sacred books. To make them perfect when they are not so, or any further than they are so, is unnecessarily to obstruct their usefulness.

The law of God is above the Bible, and not the Bible above his law; truth is above the Bible, and not the Bible above truth. The idea that we have no supreme standard of faith and holiness if we reject the Bible as a perfect rule of faith, and receive it as we do other books, for what it teaches, on the same principles as other books, is a silly delusion. Christian knowledge will not be the loser by such fidelity to truth, but the gainer; piety will be the gainer. To ignore the imperfections of the Bible, and make it a perfect standard of the truth, is to confound reason and contradict all the higher principles of the Bible itself; it is to set the book against God and above him; if done knowingly, it is an act of daring impiety; if ignorantly, it is an act of criminal and injurious superstition.

CANADIAN JUSTICE. A Kentucky "lady" named Clark, stopping at Windsor, Canada, with a slave girl who accompanied her, beat the "chattel" with a stick. The consequence was that she lost her servant, and was taken before a police court, which held her to answer for assault and battery. Served her right!

GREAT MEETING AT SHILOH CHURCH.

PROCEEDINGS CONTINUED.

The meeting again assembled, agreeably to adjournment, on Thursday (Fast day) evening, April 30th, at Shiloh Church, New York. Rev. Henry H. Garnet presided, and Mr. Geo. T. Downing acted as Secretary. Remarks fitting the occasion were made by the President, and prayer offered by Rev. J. T. Raymond. Three verses of the 100th Psalm were sung by the congregation, when Mr. Frederick Douglass was introduced.

He commenced by stating that he wished to hear a discussion which would embrace the prejudices arising in the minds of colored men, in relation to the mission which he was there to forward. He had supposed that the propriety of colored men enlisting in the service of the United States, through the invitation extended by the State of Massachusetts, had been discussed; but a great obstacle existed in the minds of colored men, against enlisting into the United States service, under the conditions offered by that State. He did not wonder at this, because the tardy, back-door manner in which it was done was ground for hesitation. He alluded to the proclamation of Jeff. Davis, threatening to shoot all white men found in colored regiments, and to punish all colored men found in arms for aiding insurrection. The Government had taken no measures whatever to protect colored men, and he considered it manly on the part of the young men to hesitate before entering the service under such degrading conditions. Again, colored men were not eligible for commissions, and could rise no higher than non-commissioned officers, and this was also some ground for the diffidence and hesitation and indifference exhibited by colored men. He had looked at these things, and he confessed that his blood boiled at the discriminations made by the Government against colored men, and he had been particularly indignant at the silence of the Government, and their failure to say one encouraging word to the colored man to induce him to join the army. Old General Jackson called them "fellow-citizens," (applause,) and asked them to come to the rescue against a foreign foe; but our Government would not do so. A General had been here for months, organizing a black regiment, but it was not done openly; in fact, the black man was the ugly child of the family, and was put under the bed, or out of the way, when company came in. (Laughter.) The United States had behaved badly, but Massachusetts had not. (Applause.) Was it Archimedes, who said he only wanted a fulcrum for his lever to move the world? All the black man wanted was to move Massachusetts, and thus they would move the country. (Applause.) Massachusetts had called on the Government to use their black hand; they had been fighting with their soft white hand, while their iron black hand was tied behind. (Applause.) He believed it were better, after all, to join the 54th Massachusetts regiment. The design of the Confederacy was to enslave all the colored people all over the United States. Our Government, it was true, had not made them line officers and Colonels, but it had done a noble act when it struck the chains off the limbs of 3000 people in the District of Columbia. (Applause.) Now he would say that Jeff. Davis, aye, and Fernando Wood and Ben, would rejoice when they saw the reluctance of colored men to enlist. (Applause.) It was well known that the whole mass of colored citizens could not enlist, but he asked for a full tide of sympathy and encouragement from the influential people to those boys who wanted to go into the service of their country.

The Chairman then referred to some colored patriots, who were discouraged by white Copperheads, but had applied to Governor Morgan for permission to form a regiment when the war first broke out, but the Governor could not give his sanction, not having the power. He was certain that at least 1600 young colored men were now in the service of the United States as menials, who would have been soldiers instead, had they been allowed to enlist. Some of these young men had returned minus an eye, an arm or a leg, from wounds received in action. They did what they could, but could not get the opportunity to do enough. He gave it as his candid opinion, that now was the time for his colored fellow-citizens to come forward, and strike a blow for the Union and for freedom. The history of the black man was being written, and the page would doubtless be bright and glorious at the close of the war. His advice to the young men of New York was to be careful in all their actions and words, for there are men watching all your words to find some means of slandering you. Join the armies of the United States, and, in the language of old John Brown, who frightened Virginia to the core, march through and through the heart of this rebellion. (Cheers.)

At the close of Mr. Garnet's remarks, James Williams, an aged colored man, a drummer in the rebel army, was introduced, and related his experience, which was very interesting and laughable. After the first battle of Bull Run, his regiment was sent to Fernandina, where he made the acquaintance of a colored woman who washed and repaired his clothes for him; and as his regiment was about to be moved elsewhere, he was sent by his master to get his clothes, which he has been after ever since. He is about to enter the 54th Massachusetts, and embrace the first chance to repay his old debts to the slave-holders.

Rev. Dr. Cheever was the next speaker. He began by paying a just compliment to Mr. Douglass, and to the Butternut drummer. He could now recommend the colored men to go into the army, which he could not do one year ago, because the Government was then pro-slavery, and would not protect the rights of black men. He also referred to the last order of Adjutant-General Thomas, in relation to placing the freedmen of the South as serfs on the plantations even of their former masters. But, if these be the orders of the Government, it is the first duty of every man, colored and white, to hold mass meetings throughout the loyal North, and express their burning indignation against such infamous orders. In respect to the action of Kentucky in enslaving the freedmen who put foot on her soil, he declared it to be the duty and right of the President to march an army to that State, and make it certain that they must submit to this Government. (Cheers and applause.) He briefly alluded to a plan, presented to him yesterday morning, to raise 10,000 black men in the loyal States, and put them under command of Gen. Fremont, to go down South. They would crush out this rebellion.—(Cheers.)

At the close of Dr. Cheever's remarks, a vote of thanks was given to him. Mr. Downing then read a letter received from Gov. Andrew, of Massachusetts, in relation to the guarantees of protection which the Government will extend to them, which will be equal in all respects to those of white men.

The following resolutions were offered by Mr. Downing, and adopted by the meeting:—

Resolved, That we are impressed with the fact, that the resolutions most in place *now* are those which will give force and efficacy to a determination, on our part, to stand by the Government in every way we may; with sympathy and succor, with loaded muskets and drawn swords, seeing that the very existence of our Government is imperilled; a Government which is daily endearing itself to us more and more, by an increasing willingness to respect and defend us as its equal subjects.

Resolved, That in determining to stand by the Government in this war, we are not only deciding to stand by good government, but against slavery, the parent and fosterer of the unjust prejudice we have been the subjects of here in the North; we believe that as we shall manifest competency and valor in the field, will their rewards, acknowledgment and promotion be awarded us; and that the bugbear "Colonization," which has so troubled the American people, will not, out of respect for the feelings of loyal Americans, be ever again agitated.

Resolved, That an address be forwarded to His Excellency, Horatio Seymour, by a committee of thirteen, to be appointed by the Chairman, which shall respectfully urge the Governor to give all the encouragement he may to the enlistment of colored citizens of the State, as soldiers, for the purpose of maintaining the Union and in defence of liberty; that we desire this, that other States may not draw too much upon the patriotism which we would, as New-Yorkers, have set down to the credit of our own State; but, until the Governor of New York shall call upon the colored people of the State to take up arms in defence of the Union, it is the part of wisdom for them to accept the invitations from Massachusetts so to do.

The Chairman named the following committee:—George T. Downing, Martin Wells, J. R. W. Leonard, J. V. Givens, Robert Thompson, P. P. Simons, Thomas Cisco, J. J. Zuille, H. P. Thomas, Asa Francis, Robert Johnson, A. Bolden.

THE LATE BENJAMIN BOWN.

Some thirty years ago, Benjamin and Sarah Bown emigrated from England, went into the grocery business in Pittsburg, Pa., and prospered. There were good Abolitionists then, but none so determined and resolute as he. A Virginia lady made Pittsburg a temporary residence for a few months, bringing with her a light octoroon girl of eleven years old, as body-guard, or, perhaps, as emblematic of luxurious Southern chivalry. When about to leave, she was informed that the laws of Pennsylvania intervened, requiring her to return to her home without her appendage; which she did reluctantly.

The Bowns had no children. They adopted the little girl, gave her the family name, educated her, and allowed her all the benefits and privileges of a beloved daughter. Angeline Sarah Bown grew up a portly, handsome woman, and, better, a sensible and dignified one. She married (with the cordial approbation of his relatives, and the consent of her adopted parents,) John Deming, in every way respectable; and she is now the mother of five children. So discreet and dignified is this pair, that difference of races seems not to be thought of in relation to them. It is rare to find such paternal and filial attachment as is manifested between the Bown and Deming families.

B. Bown died at his residence, in Cincinnati, after Lincoln's proclamation of partial liberty. (Was he stultified that he did not make it entire?) On his death-bed, with his hand on a friend who sat by him, he said, "I thank God that I have been permitted to see this day of jubilee."

He was fully apprised of his approaching end, and with quiet deliberation made arrangements for the disposal of his body. It was to be taken to the house of M. R. Robinson, in Salem, Columbiana Co., Ohio. He named six friends to carry him to the grave, and authorized M. R. R. to give utterance to such thoughts and feelings as the occasion inspired. So it was all done as he requested, that his dust might mingle with that of his anti-slavery friends, as their spirits had mingled in life. Mourners stood at his grave, but none like Angeline, who dropped a profusion of flowers on his coffin. I doubt not her heart responded to such sentiments as are simply expressed in the following effusion:—

THE MOURNER'S OFFERING.

Adieu, Deliverer and Protector,
Thy work on earth is done,
And thou went down as peacefully
As doth evening's setting sun.

I would have kept thee my life-long,
If such a thing might be,
For thou wast friend to human kind,
But most a friend to me.

Words can't express the gratitude,
Nor the immeasurable love
That 's cherished in my inmost soul—
'Tis only known above.

I know I cannot serve thee now,
But my impulse was to bring
Some beauteous, fragrant flowers,
As a filial offering.

Full well I know they're not needed
In memory of the brave,
But it seems to soothe my sadness
To strew them in thy grave.

We know of thy thanksgiving
For the slave's grand jubilee;
When thou dost drop thy mantle,
Father! may it fall on me!—

That I may do my duty too,
In this life of joy and pain,
Trusting that in the better life
I'll meet with thee again.

I know the little value of posthumous reputation to the dead; yet the living may be aroused from a state of apathy—stimulated, encouraged and urged, by a recital of what philanthropists have done, and may heed the injunction, "Go thou, and do likewise." Benjamin Bown was an uncompromising, conscientious, stern Englishman. We do well to keep such in memory. Fluent orators and fine writers are well in their departments, but WORKERS are indispensable; and such, emphatically, was our lamented friend. AMOS GILBERT.

☞ We knew Benjamin Bown long and well, as among the truest of the true and the bravest of the brave in the Anti-Slavery ranks—always at his post, and ready for every trial and emergency in the service of the oppressed. The tribute rendered to his memory by our friend Gilbert (who is no flatterer of the living or the dead) is most justly merited.—[*Ed. Lib.*

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